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AMERICANA

THE LITERATURE OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

MILTON WALDMAN

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Mark
Stacks



HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
NEW YORK : : : MCMXXV

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To
MY PARENTS

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FOREWORD

SOME four or five years ago I became interested in the old and rare books which contain the earliest printed sources of American history. I discovered, to my pleasure and astonishment, that a pioneer epic had existed of which I had been unaware, an epic written to a large extent by its most prominent actors. I knew, of course, the names and principal achievements of Columbus, Vespuccius, Cortes, Champlain and John Smith, but it was only then that I realized that these adventurers themselves had left absorbing literary memorials of their part in our annals. Comparing notes with my friends I soon learned that even those better informed than the average on the general history of the continent had not the least idea on what their information was based. I also learned that although there was an encyclopedic quantity of knowledge of the subject contained in footnotes, bibliographies and catalogues, no book existed by which the layman might in short and readable compass survey this fascinating field. That deficiency I have tried to remedy in this book.

In selecting items for description I have endeavored to stress those which, because of their author-

ship and content, together with the circumstances of their production, will always be recognized among the major literature of American history. In determining this I have not been guided by my judgment alone, or even primarily; I have consulted various standard histories and bibliographies, the catalogues of public and private libraries and of auction sales, and from them deduced those items which seem most indispensable to the historians and most desired by bibliophiles. Whenever my limited space would permit I have attempted by a description of or quotation from the books themselves to impart a bit of their own flavor. The reader will not find these pages complete, but will, I trust, find them in the main accurate and the information they contain interesting. If minor errors, in titles, etc., appear, I can only plead distance from my sources as my excuse.

A word about prices. Price is a question that inevitably crops up where rare books are discussed, and I fancy that they interest the public no less than the collector. Hence I give them frequently, but with the distinct understanding that they are not there for the purpose of airing my belief that rare books are a good investment. One hears a great deal about books purchased for ten dollars and sold for a thousand. There are such cases, but they are altogether exceptional, and signify nothing. A Shakespeare first folio, bought in 1623

for perhaps ten dollars, might bring \$30,000 to-day if in first-class condition. But that same ten dollars, if invested at five per cent and interest compounded, would now be worth over \$300,000,000. Allowing for any possible discrepancy in my calculations, the point is sufficiently clear to expose the investment fallacy. When I cite the rapid increase in the value of certain books, it is merely because such increases are the arresting exception, not the rule. And it should never be forgotten that all prices are invariably subject to *condition*.

Though I have derived valuable information from footnotes I dislike them exceedingly, since they distract the mind and mar the page. Hence I have omitted them, making my acknowledgments specifically in the appropriate portion of the text.

Forewords are always written last, and I now understand why. It is because they contain the author's expressions of personal gratitude, and gratitude, like all the other more generous emotions, can never have its proper scope during the actual labor of composition. These more humane feelings now begin to surge back, and I thank most humbly the friends and co-workers who have made my way so easy—Dr. Wilberforce Eames, Mr. Paltsits, Mr. Lydenberg, and Miss Lerch, all of the New York Public Library; Mr. George Parker Winship of the Widener Library, Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library, Dr.

Rosenbach and Mr. Brooks of the Rosenbach Company, and the many kindly persons who have helped me to what I wished in the libraries of Boston, London, Paris and Milan. The heartiest of all my debts is due to one who will not permit his name to be mentioned, and to him my gratitude must remain anonymous, though none the less heartfelt for that. To Mr. Winship I owe still further obligations, acquired since these lines were written, for reading the proof and making many valuable suggestions thereon.

MILTON WALDMAN.

Blue Ball Yard,
St. James's,
London.

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(My acknowledgments are due to the New York Public Library for assistance in obtaining all of the above save the Andross broadside, of which Dr. Rosenbach kindly gave me the photostat.)

INTRODUCTORY

THERE is a striking dramatic propriety in the fact that America was discovered at the end of the fifteenth century. That restless and brilliant period presents many resemblances to a play with the discovery as a *dénouement* for which elaborate preparations had been made. A restless energy pervaded Europe, for which an outlet was necessary lest she blow herself to pieces. She had accumulated knowledge and wealth unprecedented for a thousand years, found to her hand a trained body of mariners and geographers of a quality unknown even in antiquity. A new national consciousness, eager for competition in any field, insured that these advantages would be utilized to the utmost. Everything was ready for the creation of the new history—even an extraordinary body of historians to write it. And, what is more, an instrument had been devised forty years earlier for the recording of this history as the history of no previous epoch was or could have been recorded. The present book is largely the story of how Johannes Gutenberg, by inventing the art of printing at Mainz in or about 1450, enabled Christopher Columbus, returning from the discovery of America, to found a history instead of inaugurating a legend.

Not enough credit has ever been given, I think, for Johannes Gutenberg's part in the unique chronicle of America. Had his invention followed the discovery by as many years as it preceded it, the story of the new world would have been different altogether. In all probability Columbus' own account of the first and second voyages, at least, would not have survived; we should now have to reconstruct the discoveries of Vespuccius, Balboa, Magellan, Cortes and others of the great explorers before 1532. In other words, American history would emerge from legend, folk-lore and surmise, like that of older countries, instead of beginning with first-hand, authentic relations.

The services of Gutenberg and his invention extend even further, as we shall presently see. By means of printing the knowledge of the successive discoveries, conquests and explorations was rapidly spread over Europe. Public interest was stimulated, expeditions formed and propaganda for colonization disseminated as they could not conceivably have been had the little German not learned the secret of popularizing information by means of movable types. Americana is in great measure the reaction of the first outstanding achievement of the fifteenth century upon the second.

This is not to say that all the literature pertaining to America (which is the proper definition of Americana) is available in printed sources. Much

of it has disappeared altogether; even more, perhaps, lies undisturbed as manuscript in state and private archives. But in comparison with historical material of other countries, ours is fairly complete in print; and it is to that aspect of the subject that this book will largely confine itself.

Yet, even so delimited, the subject is too vast for even the most general treatment. There is the dim region of pre-Columbian exploration, the almost mythical early Norse and English voyages, about which learned (and even absurdly unlearned) treatises have been put into print. There are the early cosmographies, such as the Ptolemaic, which greatly influenced the course of westward exploration, and some of these, as the *Imago Mundi* by the monk, Pierre d'Ailly, had a direct influence on Columbus himself.

In general these various classes of books may be described as either prophecy of the actual discovery or research upon it. And although collectors and historians have set great store by them, and given them place as the very earliest Americana, (often, I fear, to the detriment of the just proportion which should exist between the known and the unknown) I shall in this volume disregard them. For my purpose here is not a chronicle of actions, but of books, and no book can rival in interest that which appeared at the time of the event it relates and in the lifetime of him who wrote it.

In the case of items to be hereinafter considered, a large part of them have the additional interest and merit of being from the pen of the history-maker himself.

Our subject may be divided roughly into three groups:

Comprising the first are those books and other documents relating to discovery, exploration, colonization, archeology, anthropology, geography, economics, religion and history in all of its phases; not only as they pertain to the American continent as a whole, but to its subdivisions, territorial and political, down to the smallest unit. Every state and township possesses its portion of Americana, in form a miniature replica of the subject in its continental aspect. Local genealogy alone, in England styled "family history," engrosses thousands.

The second group concerns itself with the beginnings of printing in the Western Hemisphere, and with the first products of the first presses in various places.

The scope of the third group is the literature, in its usual sense, from the pens of American authors.

It is to the first group that most of this book is devoted; the chapter given to each of the latter is merely for the purpose of sketching their general outlines.

AMERICANA

CHAPTER I

COLUMBUS AND VESPUCCIUS



THE first page of American history was written by Christopher Columbus on board his little flagship, the *Santa Maria*, not many hours after he had sighted the New World.

Few men of action have been as keen as the Admiral to record their experiences and to "plead their cause aright to posterity." His penchant for writing letters was, in fact, a subject of satire by Ferdinand's court fool, Zurega. From the very beginning of the voyage, which began on August 4th, 1492, he had kept a careful diary, in the form of a day-by-day letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, and we may be certain that little time elapsed after he knew that his great venture had justified itself before he set himself to the congenial task of putting the story to paper. This diary has, unfortunately, been lost. There is preserved, however, an abridged and faithful transcript of it, made by his friend, Bartolomé de las Casas, in the early years of the sixteenth century. From this journal we may gather the circumstances under which were written the *Columbus Letters*,

two epistles which transcend in interest all else that pertains to the New World, and take rank, by common consent, as the very cornerstone of Americana.

On February 14, 1493, the returning caravels, the *Nina* and the *Pinta*, ran into a heavy storm off the Azores (the *Santa Maria*, the former flagship, had run ashore and been abandoned off the island of Haiti). Columbus, fearing the destruction of both ships and the consequent loss to the world of the news of the discovery, committed a brief record to parchment, which he "enveloped in a waxed cloth, tied it very securely, and ordered a large wooden barrel brought, and placed the parchment in the barrel without any person knowing what it was, as they all thought it was some act of devotion, and thus he ordered it thrown into the sea." (I am employing the excellent translation of the journal made by Mr. John Boyd Thacher for his invaluable work on Christopher Columbus.) Various canards, one quite recent, have startled the world on occasion to the effect that the cask had been found; it is as likely of discovery, of course, as the buried treasures of Captain Kidd.

On the following day, the storm having abated, Columbus wrote to Luiz Santangel, Chancellor of the Royal Household of Aragon, one of his sponsors, a brief account of the voyage. During his brief stay at Lisbon, he wrote another letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. Arriving at Lisbon on

March 14th, he prepared still another letter to Gabriel Sanchez, the Royal Treasurer, added a post-script to the Santangel epistle, bringing it up to date, and sent all three to Barcelona, where the Court was sitting. The letter to the sovereigns has altogether disappeared, as have the originals of both the others; the texts are in substance alike.

The Santangel missive has come to be known as the *Spanish Letter*, that to Sanchez as the *Latin Letter*. The latter remained for a long time the earliest known publication announcing the discovery. It must have created a considerable contemporary furor, since it ran through nine editions, in Latin alone, within a year, appearing first at Rome, then at Antwerp, Basle, Paris and possibly other cities. It appeared in Genoa in 1497, and was several times rendered into Italian verse within two years of its first publication. A German version had a far-reaching influence.

The exact date of that event is unknown, although the generally accepted first edition states that the translation was completed by Leander (Aliander) de Cosco on April 25, 1493. The priority of two of the three Roman editions has been the subject of much excellent scholarship, which has at times become highly technical and rested on rather tenuous evidence; it seems now to be settled that the one apparently printed early in May from the type of the famous printer Stephen Planck preceded all

of the others. It is one of the most common, about fourteen copies being known; several of the other editions have survived in only a single specimen. A good specimen of any one of the nine will generally bring \$2500 to \$5000 in the auction room nowadays.

It is probable that no printed copy of the *Latin Letter* in the original Spanish has ever been unearthed, although very nearly every stack of old books in Europe has been examined in the search for one. Several early Spanish texts have been turned up which might have served Cosco as the basis for his translation, but none have as yet been generally accepted as such. It is possible that it never was printed in Spanish before its appearance in Latin, and was transcribed directly from the manuscript; but the authorities are inclined, on the whole, to believe otherwise.

Far greater in importance, both because of the interest of their association, their rarity and their history, are the *Spanish Letters*, of which but two copies are extant.

In 1852 a lynx-eyed scholar, examining the collection left to the Ambrosian Library of Milan by Baron Pietro Custodi, chanced on a small bound plaquette printed in Spanish, and stirred the entire world of letters to enthusiasm by the announcement that the *Santangel Letter*, the bulletin of the discovery of America, had been found. It was an

event of extraordinary interest. The search for the original of the *Latin Letter* was renewed with zeal. A mariner was stimulated to announce that he had fished the boxed parchment out of the sea. Another enterprising gentleman capitalized the universal excitement by selling forgeries based on a pen copy as newly discovered originals in widely separated places, at something like \$4500 apiece. They proved exceedingly troublesome to collectors and scholars for a long time. One was sold for a large price at a celebrated auction in New York, and caused a lawsuit which resulted in the vendor being forced to return the purchase money. Another was offered for sale to Mr. Eames of the New York Public Library by an Italian gentleman who bought it on the representation that it had been discovered a short time before in the house of a private family in Italy. On Mr. Eames' assurance that it was one of the forgeries, his visitor tore up the document, tossed it into the waste-paper basket and took his departure. The librarian carefully gathered the pieces and mounted them on gauze for preservation; the scholarly excellence of these forgeries has made them highly prized despite their exposure. Nevertheless it seems curious that so many prominent bookmen were deceived by them, since the forger's pen occasionally made the error of joining together several letters, an effect rare in typography.

For thirty-seven years the Ambrosian quarto letter enjoyed its unique distinction. In 1889 J. Maisonneuve, a Paris bookseller, in examining a quantity of old books which he had purchased from Spain, came upon a volume whose end-papers consisted of two folio leaves of badly-printed Spanish. The bookseller promptly recognized the character of his find, and after making a reprint, offered it for sale in his catalogue; it was purchased by Bernard Quaritch, the then reigning bibliopole of Europe, who sold it, in 1891, to the Lenox library of New York, for \$8500—at a substantial loss, if the gossip be true. It is now the property of the New York Public Library. A violent debate raged for several years, first over the authenticity of the Maisonneuve discovery, then over its right to claim priority of the quarto. But internal evidence has quelled that controversy at last, and the folio letter has established, beyond a reasonable doubt, its claim to having been the first of all printed matter to announce to the Old World the discovery of the New.

The survival of this letter is a matter of mystery. The paper upon which it is printed has as watermark a human head, but the printer cannot be ascertained by any known characteristic of his work; the job was probably entrusted to one of the four disciples of Gutenberg then operating at Barcelona, though this is by no means certain. The manner

of its existence, until it entered the prosaic occupation of end-paper, can only be surmised. It is remarkably well preserved, in view of its age and precarious career, although bearing in its margin traces of the careful soaking M. Maisonneuve gave it to facilitate its removal. The very miracle of its preservation would seem to preclude the possibility of another copy coming to light.

What a power of imagination is in these two worn leaves! Holding them in one's hands for but a moment, it is given to experience the past with an intensity rare among human sensations. The end of March 1493; the two storm-tossed caravels, straining for home; their immortal commander, eager to behold the effect of his momentous communication; new-born Spain, shaken by the news to her very depths, unable as yet to comprehend, but already inhaling the sweet incense of treasure and empire. Small wonder that this faded herald of a surpassing mortal achievement commands an esteem denied even to Gutenberg Bibles and Shakespearian quartos—for perhaps alone of books it is beyond price.

The second voyage of Columbus, begun on September 25, 1493, was naturally a far more elaborate affair. It consisted of seventeen vessels and a crew of at least twelve hundred, among whom was Ponce de Leon. On November 3rd a landing was made on a small island which was named Dominica, for

the day, Sunday. Shortly thereafter our Porto Rico was first discovered, and the original colony left in San Salvador the previous winter revisited, only to find that it had tragically disappeared without a trace of the forty-three men who had been left. The city of Isabella was founded on this voyage, which terminated when the Admiral reached Cadiz on June 11, 1496.

The earliest record of this voyage exists in a letter written by Guglielmo Coma, who accompanied it, to one Nicolo Scyllacio, a friend. The latter caused it to be published as a quarto pamphlet of ten leaves with dedication to Ludovico Sforza, Il Moro, at Pavia in 1494 or 1495. It is an extremely amusing document to read, the author deeming himself to have some pretense to literary style—"When Aurora, resplendent with her bright trappings, ushered in the next morning, they sailed with gentle breeze for the Canaries." However it contains a very interesting and valuable account of the habits of the natives as well as the facts of the voyage. It presents Columbus in a favorable light in respect to his dealings with the natives, for it states that he sternly forbade their robbery or extortion; he was unable, however, to prevent them from trading gold for brass trinkets.

The Coma letter bears somewhat the same relation to the second voyage that the Santangel letter does to the first. It is a first-hand account, but of

course incomplete, as it was in print before the bulk of the expedition had returned to Spain. Only five copies are now known, I believe, and it is so many years since one has changed hands that it is impossible to appraise its monetary value.

Two other sources for this voyage exist, one a letter by a Doctor Chanca to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville, now lost, but reproduced in a sixteenth century copy. It, too, makes a pleasing yarn. Peter Martyr, the first historian of the discoveries, also received several letters, one from Columbus himself; Martyr in turn passed on his information to an Italian Duke and some Cardinals, and employed his information in the works to be referred to later.

The third voyage, most important after the first, began on May 30th, 1498 and ended with the return of its leader to Spain in chains on November 25, 1500; it was early in this voyage that the continent of South America was discovered. The original report of this voyage is one of the rarest and most fascinating books in the world. It is entitled *Libretto de Tutta la Navigatione de re de Spagna de le Isole et Terreni Novamante Trovati*, commonly called simply *Il Libretto*. It is the first collection of voyages ever published, and contains, besides the first three voyages of Columbus, two made by Pedro Alonzo Nino and Cristobal Guerra in 1499 and 1500. The author was Peter Martyr, the monk before

mentioned, who was in intimate contact with both the court and the explorers. He knew the politics behind the inception of expeditions and was the first to receive communications from the returning travelers. He was in correspondence and personal contact with Columbus, his sailors and companions, and his letters, in Latin, to important personages often constitute the first news. They are always early and usually accurate. Martyr apparently prepared his letters for publication in narrative form about 1501, shortly after the disastrous conclusion of the third voyage. It seems that the manuscript fell into the hands of Angelo Trivigiano, a name well known in early correspondence of the discoveries, who translated it into Italian and sent it to the Venetian historian, Admiral Domenico Malipiero, who put it into print in April 1504.

Only two copies of the *Libretto* are known to exist. One, lacking the first leaf, has long been in the library of San Marco in Venice; the other, quite perfect, was acquired by the John Carter Brown Library, of Providence, Rhode Island, about twenty years ago; no copy has ever been offered at public sale. Curiously, Henry Harrisse, who suspected the existence of the *Spanish Letter* before its discovery, was long on the trail of the second copy of the *Libretto* before it was actually found. The book is a delightful example of early sixteenth century bookmaking, comely in typography and neat in

proportion. Few of the early voyages were printed with any such considerations, and the greatest of them are often mere news-sheets.

The *Libretto* adds an important piece to our knowledge of Columbus; it begins with a description of his personal appearance: "CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, a man of high and lofty stature, ruddy, of great intelligence, and with a long face, followed the Most Serene Sovereigns of Spain a long time, wherever they went, striving that they might help him by fitting out some ships; with which he offered to find towards the West, some islands near India; where there is an abundance of precious stones; and spice; and gold; which can be easily obtained. For a long time the King and the Queen, and all the dignitaries of Spain held this in ridicule. And finally after seven years and after many efforts, they agreed to his wish; and fitted out for him a ship and two caravels, with which about the beginning of September, 1492, he left the Spanish shores, and commenced his voyage." (Translation from Thacher, Vol. II, Pt. II.) This paragraph is supported in some statements, confuted in others (as to the date of sailing for instance) by other sources, but the few words on Columbus' appearance have unique value, since of his personal side we know so little.

Elsewhere it is indicated that he was of lowly origin, a statement supported by a commentator on

the Genoese Polyglot Psalter of 1516, who comments that Columbus' discovery bears out the prophecy of the 19th psalm about "God's praise being spread to the ends of the earth," and asserts that the discoverer himself was *vilibus ortus parentibus*. It may be added that Ferdinand Columbus, in his biography of his father, published in Venice in 1571, vigorously disputes this statement, but his book has, unfortunately, been too often found wanting in accuracy to be accepted as unquestioned authority.

Other information on the third voyage is to be found in the second part of Marcus Sabellius' elaborate history of the world, from the rise of the Roman Empire to 1504, the year of its publication; it repeats the account of the *Libretto*. Letters from Columbus on the third voyage were discovered in Spain during the last century.

The first account transmitted to us of the fourth and last voyage is in the form of a letter by the Admiral himself; this letter was translated into Italian by a citizen of Brescia, Constanzo Bayuera, and published at Venice in 1505 under the title of *Copia de la Lettera per Colombo Mandata*. No edition of the Spanish original is known. The Italian version is extremely rare, only one copy, I believe, surviving, in the Marcian Library at Venice. The *Copia de la Lettera* contains the record of a great tragedy in its six pages. Written, as it states, on the island of Jamaica on July 7th, 1503, and ad-

dressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, it indicates only too clearly that the great discoverer had succumbed to the insanity which for several years had threatened him; it is a hysterical, unhappy epistle, full of despair and suspicion. Compared with the barely suppressed ecstasy of the Santangel letter, it suggests the vast contrast of a Hellenic tragedy.

Many common errors might be dispersed by a study of these early documents, as well as of the Columbian sources which remained in manuscript, such as the *Book of Privileges* or *Codex*, a compendious work containing relations of all agreements made between the Discoverer and the sovereigns, and the *Libro de las Profecias*, his last work. For example, although the Spanish Letter states that he passed over to *Indies* in twenty days (the time is obviously a mere printer's error for thirty-three) the record of the negotiations would indicate he originally started out to find what lay on the other side of the Atlantic, not with a definite and known land in view.

The curious popular belief that he conceived Cuba to be the mainland is also specifically refuted in the Spanish Letter, while the language of the *Codex* shows that he knew before he died that he had discovered a New World, for he uses the words "*Indias Occidentales*" in speaking of it. The *Libro de las Profecias* uses the specific term "*Novus Mundus*." The latter work is, however, rather mislead-

ing; some think that his unfortunate frame of mind of later days led him to deliberate misstatement to prevent other navigators from exploiting his discoveries.

The material above mentioned, from the first letter down, must of course remain for ever inaccessible to collectors. There exists, however, a great variety of excellent reprints of nearly all of it, such as the New York Public Library's editions of various of the first voyage letters, the Quaritch facsimile of the first letter, et cetera. A list of these reprints may be found in John Boyd Thacher's *Christopher Columbus* and in Volume II of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. A splendid nucleus for a library of Americana might be made out of a collection of these reprints of cherished rarities. There are also several important modern works based on, and often reproducing, these documents. The first is certainly the *Coleccion de Los Viages*, a monumental work by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarette, a Spanish naval officer commissioned by his Government to search the public archives. Navarette began his work in 1789, but the French Revolution and the subsequent wars intervened, and it was not until 1825 that the first volume appeared. The work contains five hundred of the most important documents relating to the period of discovery (1400-1540). It was Navarette who unearthed the las



Illustration from the pictorial edition of the Basle
1493 Latin Letter.

Casas transcript of the *Journal*, as well as many other valuable unknown manuscripts. He was beyond doubt the most successful of Spanish compilers. The results of his work have been translated into English by various persons, the *Journal* by Samuel Kettell, Boston, 1827 (reprinted recently by a New York firm), the *Letters* by R. H. Major and others, while Washington Irving's *Voyage of the Companions of Columbus* is a full translation of Volume III. Other great works in the period are the *Examen Critique* of Alexander Humboldt, a critical examination of the discoveries from a geographical point of view, and the *Christophe Colomb* of Henry Harrisse, probably the most thorough study of the life of Columbus ever made. And yet with all this material available, with so much personal revelation and intelligent critical research to work with, a comprehensive, impartial and living picture of Christopher Columbus yet waits to be drawn. A great mariner, a great commander, an *illuminé*, persistent and inspired, he yet lacked executive capacity, tact and understanding of his fellow men. At once humble and suspicious, highly imaginative and materially engrossed, he continually eludes exact definition and remains a fascinating subject to tempt succeeding generations of biographers.

During the last troubled years of Columbus' life, two little books were being printed and circulated

with such great rapidity throughout Europe that his achievements were temporarily forgotten, and another name preceded his in the discussion of trans-Atlantic exploration. That other name was Americus Vespuccius, and it was destined, as a result of the second of those books, to become fastened forever to the continent the greater man had discovered.

Vespuccius was a peculiarly favored child of Fortune. Born in Florence in 1451, he entered the employ of the House of Medici, and was sent by them as confidential agent to Barcelona just in time to witness the preparations for and the return of the first voyage. Entering the employ of Juanoto Berardi, he was enabled to assist in preparing for the second expedition, to meet the Admiral himself, with whom he came to be on friendly terms, and to take part, in a purely subordinate capacity, in several voyages under different flags. Finally he was to have his meager writings taken so seriously by a pedantic little monk who had never met him, as to have the entire New World offered as a tribute to his everlasting glory.

Vespuccius' ventures into authorship consisted of two small works entitled respectively *Mundus Novus* and the *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci Delle Isole Nuovamente Trovate in Quattro Suoi Viaggi*. They describe respectively his third voyage, made in 1501-1502, and all four voyages he claimed to

have made up to 1504. The former is in the form of a letter to Lorenzo Pier' Francesco de Medici, the latter to his school friend, Piero Soderini.

Very grave doubts have been cast upon the accuracy of these relations, particularly on the claim to having taken part in the Pinzon and Solis voyage of 1497. There is no place here to go into the evidence, but it is urged, to my mind conclusively, that Vespuccius could not have taken part in that voyage; that consequently he was in no sense the discoverer of the mainland and hence the whole matter of the naming of it was not only an error, but a ludicrous error. Without stopping here to enquire whether Vespuccius or another, some forger perhaps, was responsible for the story of that first voyage, it may be said truly that his words inspire no great confidence in him. His references to his superiors on these voyages and to Columbus are contemptible, and though he lived five years after the publication of the book which was to immortalize his name, he apparently made no effort at correcting so glaring an injustice.

The *Mundus Novus* was written early in 1503, one manuscript copy in Italian being sent to his expatron, as before mentioned, and probably another, in Portuguese, to King Manoel of Portugal. Both originals have disappeared. About a year later a Latin translation of the former by one Giovanni Giocondo was printed at Augsburg and rapidly re-

printed in various other places. Most of the editions have neither place nor date and are impossible to list in order. An Italian version, re-translated from the Latin by Montalbaddo, author of the prized *Paesi Novamente Retrovati*, the second book of voyages extant, came out in Venice in 1507; a French version, *Le Nouveau Monde*, appeared in 1516, and various German editions between 1505 and 1508. These plaquettes were as widely read at the beginning of the sixteenth century as they are eagerly sought after to-day—nearly any one of them will now bring thousands of dollars.

The Soderini letter was indited at Lisbon in 1504, and was printed, probably at Florence, a year or so later. It is written in very bad Italian, a sort of Spanish-Italian dialect, and seems to be the work of an almost illiterate person. The form we have may be, however, an incompetent translation from Vespuccius' Spanish. Only about five copies of it are now known, and I know of no sale of one that has taken place in many years. It was shortly translated into French by the same Giocondo, and afterwards into Latin by one Jean Bassin. The latter version is now by far the most famous, for it was because of it that the great blunder was made.

There flourished at that time, in the Vosges mountains in the Province of Lorraine, the little college of St. Dié. It contained a group of monks intensely interested in the current progress of learn-

ing, and sharing, at the moment, the common interest in geography. It was at this college a hundred years before that the learned Pierre d'Ailly had written his *Imago Mundi*, a celebrated early geographical tract which had profoundly influenced Columbus; a copy of it still exists with his profuse annotations in the margins. During the early years of the new century this coterie was engaged in editing a new edition of Ptolemy under the leadership of Professor Martin Waldseemüller, who, according to the custom of the time, wrote under a Latin nom-de-plume, Hylacomylus.

In the course of his preparations for this monumental task, Waldseemüller wrote and had printed (in May, 1507) at the college's press a little treatise called *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, which he made up principally of the four voyages of Vespuccius in the Bassin Latin version. It was in the preliminary matter of this booklet that he suggested the name America for the new lands; the suggestion proved so popular that, in connection with the publicity that Americus had already secured for himself, it was adopted almost by acclaim. The world, or at least the Spanish part of it, was soon to question the justice of this designation, but the effort came too late; it was Columbus' good fortune to die before he could know of this crown of his disappointments.

Waldseemüller still further riveted his hero's

name on the continent. He had prepared a large wall map of the world and had printed across the projecting eastern corner of what is now South America the name he had suggested. This was the first appearance in the world on any map of the word "America." The map was prepared apparently for his use in connection with his book, for it is mentioned in the title as a representation of universal cosmography containing "what to Ptolemy was unknown and lately discovered." The *Cosmographiæ Introductio* is rare enough, but of the map itself only one copy survives; it was discovered at Castle Wolfegg in the Austrian Tyrol, in 1901, by a Jesuit scholar, Father Fischer, and was offered for sale in London at a price well up in six figures. A reproduction is shown on the end-papers; it is inferior to a number of other maps of the period, but is interesting for its revelation of contemporary geographical knowledge. The other map reproduced in the present volume, the Wright-Molyneux map of 1600, which accompanied the second edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, illustrates forcibly the progress made in cartography during the sixteenth century.

Maps are an important feature of Americana. Such rarities as the manuscript Juan de la Cosa map, prepared by the navigator under whom Vespuccius sailed on his second voyage, the unique John Caster Brown "America" map, which I am told may be as early as the one in Castle Wolfegg, the various

Mercator maps, the lovely Portolan and Agnese charts, which are akin to illuminated manuscripts in their artistic effect, and others both printed and manuscript are among the most valuable historical items we possess. Many of them have been reproduced and are available in the map room of the larger libraries or in Dr. Edward L. Stevenson's various publications.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH EXPLORERS



IT is difficult to speak with restraint of the era of Spanish conquest which set in during the second decade of the century. It is one of the purple passages of history—extraordinary in its heroism, avarice and brutality. Nothing was done in the fashion of prose. One started off on an expedition inspired by a lust for gold in fabulous quantities, and equipped with little else save foolhardy daring. One succeeded or perished—sometimes the one event followed the other after a justice that can only be called poetic. Fortunately this period had the chroniclers it deserved; its two outstanding figures, Cortes and las Casas, were pre-eminently gifted in narrative. Dissimilar though they were, the one a seeker after his own glory, the other after the glory of God, they yet resemble each other in the intensity of their personalities and powers of articulation.

The Cortes narratives are so complete in detail that they constitute the indispensable basis for any history of his exploits—Prescott would have been helpless without them. They are in the form of

five letters addressed to Charles V, and must have given many an entertaining hour to that harassed monarch, being written with the verve and raciness with which tradition has surrounded every act of the conqueror of the Aztec empire. That Cortes was in many ways a rogue there can be no doubt; he virtually usurped command of the expedition to Mexico; he mulcted the population over which his relative, Velasquez, gave him command; his fondness for and treatment of women was unusual even for his time; he won his battles as much by duplicity as by skill, and his conduct towards the Mexicans was only surpassed by the acts of his contemporaries in Hispaniola and Peru. But he is at least his chief witness against himself, though often unwittingly, and was sufficient of a realist to spare us the smugness, if not always the untruthfulness, with which victorious conquerors, ancient and modern, are wont to afflict us.

The series of letters began, it is supposed, in July 1519, after the founding of Vera Cruz. This letter has disappeared, presumably because of suppression by the Council for the Indies at the request of Narvaez, his rival, who had been sent to supplant him and whom he defeated in battle. Cortes himself mentions, in his second letter, having written it, but it has never come to light. The information contained in it has been preserved in one or two contemporary books, particularly a French version,

published in 1522 of both the first and second letters.

The *Carta Secunda de Relacion*, etc., dated Villa Segura de la Frontera, October 30, 1520, was first published at Seville in 1522. The third and fourth letters were written in 1522 and 1524 respectively, appearing first at Seville in 1523 and at Toledo in 1525. All three of these letters were frequently reprinted during the following few years, reappearing in various places and languages. It is a pleasing coincidence that the second and third letters were, according to a colophon in the former, "printed in the very noble and very loyal city of Seville by Jacob Cromberger, a German, on the 8th day of November 1522" (the other on March 30, 1523). It was this Cromberger who shortly thereafter sent out Juan Pablos to start the first press in the Western Hemisphere in the capital of the Montezumas.

The fifth and last letter remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century, first appearing in print at Madrid in 1844, in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*. This fifth letter, written in September 1526, tells of the celebrated expedition to Honduras. It was published in English by George Folsom of New York under the title of *Carta Sexta*—an inexplicable error.

Various other authorities exist on Cortes—Peter Martyr, Gomara, Bernal Diaz and Sahagun. The first two we shall consider later with the general

historians. Diaz was a member of the Mexican expedition and was impelled, perhaps by the obscurity to which Cortes' captains had been consigned, to write a *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana*. Gomara had begun the Cortes legend, and Diaz was not so much anxious to contradict it as to give credit elsewhere when it was due. He did not write until fifty years after the conquest, and his book was not published until 1632. Sahagun, a Franciscan monk, attempted to present the Aztec view of the affair, and perhaps in consequence, his manuscript was lost sight of until the nineteenth century. He was one of the kindly *padres* who forewent worldly preferment in the effort to understand and minister to the natives, a point of view naturally incomprehensible to the *conquistadores*. Sahagun studied the language, the way of life and the art of the Aztecs—a gentle, pious figure, he and his work have been almost forgotten.

Another divine, however, was destined to attain a power and an influence greater even than that of the captains-general of Spain themselves. The fame of Bartolomé de las Casas has diminished considerably in modern times. His value as a historian is largely unrecognized, although his contributions to history have been invaluable. He was America's sublimest and most heroic humanitarian, yet his name remains actually unmentioned in numbers of works in the period. In his own time his

influence pervaded all Europe, and his services to America must transcend, save to the eyes of the most unctuous apologists of imperialism, those of any of his contemporaries. Thacher characterizes him as "the greatest figure, next to Columbus, appearing in the drama of the New World," and Fiske as "a figure which is in some respects the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the Apostolic Age;" just estimates if one does not read into them an implication of futility, such as Goethe's mistaken view of Hamlet or Arnold's of Shelley.

Las Casas early became interested in the New World; his father accompanied Columbus on one voyage and the aristocratic young priest took part in two others. In all he crossed the Atlantic fourteen times and in each case his return to Spain was caused by his desire to obtain official palliation for the horrors that he saw.

No pen has succeeded, though many have tried, to picture the cruelties inflicted by the Spaniards upon the Indians. Las Casas has come the nearest, and despite his undoubted exaggeration of the number of people killed, he has drawn the most vivid and convincing picture. His series of nine tracts, published together under the title of *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, contains incidents which one cannot nowadays even repeat. Among the less nauseating of the offenses observed

was the deliberate murder by overwork in mines and by lashing of the timid, trusting and physically feeble natives. The well-known stories of Indians tortured to death to make them reveal non-existent treasures are substantiated.

The author recounts how it became a common sport among the cavaliers of Spain to lay wagers as to whether one or another could cut a pedestrian in two by one stroke of his sword, while riding him down in the streets. In one case two dozen were killed before the effective stroke was delivered. The gallant soldiers delighted in tearing babies from their mother's breasts, pulling them apart by the legs and tossing them to the hounds. These are actually among the less bestial and revolting acts witnessed. Although las Casas exaggerates greatly in putting the number of the slain at forty million, he was probably sincere in this estimate, as he saw densely inhabited islands depopulated in the course of a few years; no one, however, disputes the actual facts of the tortures he reports.

Las Casas traveled back and forth, in the days when every voyage was full of danger and discomfort, pleading for his charges and fighting the formidable clique arrayed against him. He offended the propertied class in the islands and at home, and frequently provoked a personal resentment on the part of the powerful at Court. He had on his side, it is true, the gentle and humane Isabella, who died

all too soon. Cardinals Ximenes and Adrian, the Regents, gave him their trust and admiration, as did Ferdinand and Charles V in their turn. But all of this availed him little in his wars against the vested interests, and he retired a disappointed man.

Yet he had, in the end, the satisfaction in his lifetime of finally securing in 1542 the passage of the *Leyes y Ordenanças* for the Indies, which forbade the enslaving of any Indian for any cause whatsoever. It was the greatest triumph of his career. Cruelty persisted, but it lost all legal countenance. The *Leyes y Ordenanças* printed at Alcala in 1543 is still extant in a printed version, now become very rare.

Apropos of the matter of slavery, the most serious charge ever brought against las Casas by his foes, particularly the historian Oviedo and Juan Sepulveda, whose chief fame rests in his opposition to the Protector, was that he was responsible for the introduction of Negro slavery into the Indies. This charge has now been refuted. It is true that las Casas favored, under certain conditions, the importation of African slaves, after he already found this custom established, but he was motivated by his belief that the black man was better able to bear the burden of slave labor than the red man; he later professed his remorse for even the comparatively small part he had taken in the African trade.

Shortly after the passage of the *Leyes y Orde-*

nanças, las Casas became Bishop of Chiapa and made his last voyage to the New World. He returned in 1547, and several years later was plunged into the celebrated controversy with Sepulveda which constitutes so interesting a portion of the *Brevissima Relacion*. An account of this famous legal ecclesiastical war may be found in the critical and narrative *History of America*, Volume II, page 314 ff. Las Casas then retired to the Dominican Monastery of Valladolid, where he did the bulk of his writing. He died in 1566, while on a visit to Madrid, in his ninety-third year.

Las Casas' writings divide themselves into two parts—the propaganda published in his lifetime and the elaborate History which remained in manuscript for over three centuries after his death. The former has already been referred to. It was begun in 1539 with the pamphlet entitled *Brevissima Relacion*, etc., which gave its name to the rest of the series. Publication was withheld for twelve years, for reasons of State—the ministers apparently were fearful of the effect on the public of these shocking revelations. The tracts finally appeared in 1552-53 at Seville.

Very few books have had such a profound influence on world opinion. During the long series of wars in which the Spaniards were involved, a favorite method of giving vent to the general execration in which they were held was to issue a reprint

of las Casas' fearful indictment. The Low Countries came first with a version in a Brabant dialect, printed probably at Brussels in 1578; this is now the rarest of the translations. The French followed the next year with an Antwerp imprint, the translation of Jacques de Miggrode, entitled *Tyrannies et Cruautez des Espagnols*, which softened the horrors a bit in deference to Spanish opinion; there is also a later French version of 1620 or 1621 which I have not seen, although it is less scarce than the other, which restored most or all of the omissions. A German translation came out in 1597, and from Frankfort came the De Bry Latin version with its seventeen ghastly engravings, the most horrible illustrations ever attempted by an artist. The las Casas judgment has never been allowed to lapse, and in the recent war with Spain our victory was spoken of as the four-hundred-years-deferred revenge on Spanish cruelty.

There are three English editions of the tracts, the first being *The Spanish Colonie; or Brief Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies* . . . translated into English by M.M.S. Imprinted at London for William Brome 1583. It is incomplete, and is translated, not from the Spanish, but from the French of Miggrode, which name is misspelled Allegrodo in the "To the Reader" portion, which goes on to say that the book was "to serve as a President and a warning to XII

provinces of the lowe Countries"—history reversing itself rapidly. The next, and most interesting English edition, entitled *The Tears of the Indians*, London, was the work of John Phillips, a nephew of the poet Milton. It was printed in London by Nath. Brook, 1656. It is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, and reminds the English of their pre-eminent position in liberty, civil and religious, denounces the Spanish nation as "Proud, Deceitful and Treacherous," and appeals for aid to the Protector in the Conquest of the West Indies. This 1656 translation omits, unfortunately, the Sepulveda controversy, though containing the accounts of cruelty. The last English version of 1699, based like the first on the French, is called *A Relation of the First Voyages and Discoveries Made by the Spaniards in America . . . With an Account of Their Unparalleled Cruelties on the Indians, in the Destruction of About Forty Millions of People*.—Phillips, with some critical sense, had halved that number. Modern critics are inclined to decrease it still further. All the English editions are hard to find, and the first is excessively rare. The Huntington duplicate sold some years ago for several thousand dollars, as I recall.

The other work for which las Casas is famous is his *Historia de las Indias*. Its composition took up most of the last ten years of his life, but it was, for some reason, suppressed after his death, and

did not appear until 1875-6, in five volumes. It is not, on the whole, a good history, being full of irrelevant classical and biblical references. It contains, however, invaluable information as to the Columbus, Vespuccius and other voyages, often obtained at firsthand. The manuscript is still in existence and has been used by many modern writers, among them Humboldt, Irving and Prescott; the important parts were utilized by Herrera in his history, which appeared in the early seventeenth century.

It is a regrettable feature of this part of our history that it must inevitably be somewhat fragmentary. The discoveries themselves followed no definite, consecutive scheme and the impulse to write about them was even more unmethodical. Some works appeared immediately after the events they describe, some long afterwards. Many things were happening simultaneously. My purpose in this part of this work is to give some idea of the rare first books which range themselves round the most notable Spanish and Portuguese explorations and conquests during the fifty years of the discovery; these publications did not appear, unfortunately, as part of a smoothly running plan. The same is partially true of the era of French domination on the Continent. With the history of English adventure, I shall retrace my steps and attempt to arrange the volumes in some sort of chronological order—to

make a shelf of Americana concerned with the United States alone.

The first scene in American history to dramatize itself in the poetic imagination is that of Columbus standing on the lookout the night of October 11, 1492, and observing a light which indicated the end of his quest. It has often been described in verse and in prose that attempted to scale the height of verse. That the conception is inaccurate, since another than Columbus first sighted land, and in the morning instead of at night, does not perhaps damage its effectiveness. The next scene to equal it in imaginative power, Balboa first looking upon the Pacific "from a peak in Darien" requires no such romantic distortion to give it full effect—for it is simply and incontrovertibly true that on an early autumn day Vasco Nunez reached the top of a mountain and before any other white man gazed down upon the "Southern Sea" in full consciousness of the magnitude of the occasion. . . . Why Keats should have put Cortes in place of Balboa I have never been able to understand.

To appreciate the significance of the event it is only necessary to realize that up to that time Europeans had no idea of what lay between the West and the East Indies. Many contemporary maps got over the difficulty by the easy expedient of cutting off the world just west of the known explorations—others hazarded vague guesses, drew in fan-

tastic lands and bodies of water, and sprinkled *Terra Incognita* over liberal portions. The discovery of the Pacific gave realization to the newly demonstrated theory of the earth's roundness.

Neither Balboa nor any of his companions has left eyewitness testimony of the event. From an extant letter of the former, it is evident that writing was scarcely his métier, as it is said to be the labored effort of an ignorant man. He seems to have been in addition a most unruly person, and was eventually executed in 1517 on a doubtful charge of murder and treason. We must rely, then, for our early knowledge of this great event on the general histories, among which Herrera's is probably the best and most complete account. The first, however, was Peter Martyr's, and since it was written only about nine months after the event and is obviously gathered from conversations with Balboa's emissary, Pedro de Arbolancha, it takes us closer to the event than any other. It was in the form of a letter to Luis Hurtado Mendoza, and was written July 23, 1514. I think it is so admirable a report that it is worth repetition *in extenso*. The translation is Mr. Thacher's:

"We have messengers from the New World. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, with the aid of his followers and against the will of authorities appointed by the King, has usurped the Government in Darien, driven out the Governor and thrown into prison

the lawyer, Enciso, who was the official charged with rendering justice. Balboa has attempted and accomplished a deed so great that not only has he been pardoned for his treasonable conduct, but distinguished by honorable titles. The rumor had prevailed among the colonists of these lands that beyond the high mountains lying in sight of them was another ocean, richer in pearls and gold; but the Kings of the lands situated in between proposed to defend them sharply. Moreover, to break their power it would require an armed force of one thousand men. Pedro Arias was sent on in advance at the head of these warriors to open a way by force. In the meantime, while these things were preparing in Spain, while the Army was collecting and arming and the ships were building, Vasco Nunez de Balboa himself decided to put fortune to a great hazard. He set out from Darien with 190 men on the first day of September in this last year 1513, and began his journey. Partly by force, partly by conciliations and by pacifying the native Kings with our present, he scaled the mountains and saluted the ocean. Thus he stole away from Pedro Arias and his companions the fame and glory of this great enterprise. Marvelous things are written!"

One tends, I find, to become a bit dazzled by these people. The readiness "to put fortune to great hazards" for gold or fame, the daring, the cruelty, the insane jealousies of the conquerors on the one hand,

and the almost mystic ecstasy and intuitive awareness of values of the chroniclers on the other, are both, in their way, astounding to a more sober and scientific age. One ceases to wonder that even the most austere historians become infected and are at a loss what to do with their implements of moral judgment.

Two separate accounts of the first circumnavigation of the globe were published shortly after the return of the *Victoria*, the one surviving vessel of five, on September 6, 1522. Of these the earlier is a small book of sixteen leaves by a young pupil of Peter Martyr, and a secretary of the Emperor, Maximilianus Transylvanus by name. The former, having apparently much to do himself and little wherewith to keep his disciples occupied, gave the young man an assignment, after the manner of a modern city editor instructing a reporter, to interview the returned sailors and write out what he had learned. The analogy with modern journalism ceases when we learn that the assignment included the composition of a letter in Latin to be sent by Maximilian to his father, the Archbishop of Salzburg. The latter, apparently as proud of his offspring's literary venture as any normal father would be, although Maximilian was an illegitimate son, sent it to Cologne for printing in January, 1523, and had the satisfaction of seeing the work re-

printed once at Paris, twice at Rome, within thirteen months. It is entitled usually *De Moluccis Insulis . . . Epistola*. The *Epistola* is now very rare, there being only a few copies in the more important libraries and collections.

The second account of the voyage was written by one of the eighteen survivors who returned to Seville under Juan Sebastian del Cano. This was Francisco Antonio Pigafetta, a young Italian aristocrat. Pigafetta kept a journal all during the voyage, a fair copy of which he gave as a present to Charles V, at Valladolid. Returning to Italy soon after, he was asked, presumably by Pope Clement VII, to write a full account in French, which he did, using his original journal. Of this French version several manuscript copies were made, one of which he presented to Louise de Savoy, mother of Francis I, the French King. Using this as a basis, Jacques Antoine Fabre made an abridgment which was published about 1525. The *Fabre-Pigafetta* version, known as *Le Voyage et Navigation Faict par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques*, is not particularly uncommon. The Italian translation which was issued with the Maximilian version is much rarer. It came out probably in Venice in 1536.

Three fine variants of the French manuscript exist with illustrations, including the one probably

given to Louise. It is beautifully illuminated on vellum, and belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale, as does one of the other two.

The followers of Balboa had not been long in the Panama country before Indian tales of fabulous treasures to South aroused the familiar itch for acquisition. The first pair to set out were Francisco Pizarro and his partner, Diego de Almagro, in the winter of 1524. This first expedition failed, with the loss of most of its members, though enough gold was obtained to whet the appetite of the adventurers for further effort. A fresh start to the South, in two vessels, with new funds and men was made in 1526. It became necessary, however, for Almagro to return again for replacements, since the men kept dropping off through famine and tropical diseases. Pizarro, whose persistence was unbelievable, and who seemed able to bear anything, remained behind on a small equatorial island near the coast. His followers, thinking that they had been left to starve, became mutinous. Pizarro managed to suppress most of the discontent, at least its transmission back to Panama, although one letter did leak through in a ball of cotton sent as a present to the Governor's wife. It contained the lines:

“My good Lord Governor,
Have pity on our woes,
For here remains the butcher,
To Panama the salesman goes.”

The rôles assigned to Pizarro and Almagro are amusingly close to the truth. The translation from the Spanish is a well-known one by Sir Arthur Helps.

The Governor, Los Rios, became disgusted with the expedition and refused any more help; further, he sent one Tafur, with two vessels, to bring back the entire crew, including its leader.

Tafur arrived. The men were in a frenzy of joy at the prospect of return. Pizarro's fate, in fact his claim to immortal fame, hung in the balance. However, there was one quality that he possessed in superabundance, namely, an iron will. He strode before the eager men, drew his sword and traced a long line in the sand. Taking his stand on one side of this line he turned to his men and said, according to Garcia Lassio de la Vega, one of his early biographers: "Gentlemen! This line signifies labor, hunger, thirst, fatigue, wounds, sickness and every other kind of danger that must be encountered in this conquest until life is ended. Let those who have the courage to meet and overcome the dangers of this heroic achievement cross the line, in token of their resolution, and as a testimony that they will be my faithful companions; and let those who feel unworthy return to Panama; for I do not wish to put force upon any man. I trust in God that, for his greater honor and glory, his eternal Majesty will help those who remain with me, though they

be few, and that we shall not miss those who forsake us." (Markham's translation.) Sixteen remained, and their names were preserved to posterity by de la Vega.

This was perhaps all the honor they got, although they did receive in full measure all the unpleasant things their leader had promised. He, indeed, walked off with the glory, for upon his arrival in Spain the following year to solicit funds, he was showered with honors by everybody from the Emperor down, and left bearing a long list of titles. His subsequent dispossession of an ancient race and his brutal overthrow of a noble civilization are common knowledge. With melancholy regularity the conquerors lost their greatness in the days of their success, and gave way to their natural rapacity.

One other general reflection strikes us as we consider the early Spanish explorations, namely, the uniform lack of discipline which prevailed among the explorers. It is a long recital of mutiny from that of Pinzon and his sailors of the *Pinta* well on into the nineteenth century. Balboa, Cortes and Pizarro pressed on to their goals in the face of constituted authority and were made heroes of in consequence. They mutinied, and were themselves the victims of mutiny, which in the case of two of the three named, as well as of others, had the result of an early negation of their triumphs—Pizarro, in fact, was killed in one of these uprisings. Reckless,

unrestrained, greedy, meteoric—a few adjectives might suffice to describe the common characteristics of the principal emissaries of Spain's ambitions in the New World.

Pizarro himself was an illiterate, but he had a predilection for surrounding himself with writing men. On his return from Spain in 1530, he brought back with him, as secretary, Francisco Xeres, who wrote his history in Peru under his master's supervision, and took it back with him when he returned to Spain in 1534 with the first instalment of treasure. The book was printed the same year, at Seville, under the title of *Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista de Peru*. Though indispensable as a chronicle of events, it obviously treads lightly where the outrageous acts of his colleagues were concerned; the personal gossip and anecdotes interspersed are of considerable interest. Only three copies of this edition are known, I think, and one of them, in the British Museum, is imperfect. The other two are in the Lenox and Huntington Libraries.

Two other early accounts are of interest and value, one by the de la Vega before quoted, and one by Augustin de Zarate, who went out to Lima some years after the conquest as a sort of treasury official. The former wrote a sort of commentary on the civilization and history of Peru, in two parts, the first of which was published in 1608-09 at Lis-

bon, the second at Cordova in 1617; neither claims strict original observation. The first edition of Zarate's *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de Peru* appeared in 1555. An English edition, translated by T. Nicholas, bears the imprint of Richard Johnes, London, 1581. It is styled *The Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru*, etc., and bears a second title, the *Strange and Delectable History of the Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, in the South Sea*. Zarate was highly partial, and his style, in addition, is tedious and difficult.

The trend of exploration was all this time to the South. Cortes was in Mexico, Balboa in Panama, Pizarro in Peru, Vespuccius had touched South America, Magellan had rounded it—and in the meantime it remained uncertain whether or not Florida was an island. Vague reports floated in of the land across the Bahama Channel, but the tales of gold seemed to come from the direction of the equator.

Another singular omission in the foregoing paragraphs is of any reference to Portuguese voyages. The Bull of Demarcation, issued by Alexander VI in May, 1493, had allocated to them a definite field of exploration. Though we know now that the division was absurd, they were ignorant then of the relation their part bore to the whole, hence it would be surprising that they neglected the right bestowed

on them if we did not know that they were preoccupied in the East. The exploits of the Cortereals are still a mystery, save that we know that Gaspar was given a commission by the King of Portugal to find Cathay, and actually set off in the right direction, via Greenland. Whether he really traced the American coast line as far south as Florida is a matter never satisfactorily settled.

The *Pæsi Novemente Retrovati* mentioned in connection with Vespuccius contains the earliest story of the heroic brothers Miguel and Gaspar Cortereal, one of whom perished in the Northern Seas, on a quest for the other, who had disappeared while searching for the elusive route to the East.

The first Spaniard to undertake definitely the exploration of Florida was Juan Ponce de Leon. Of him there is little information; we know from Oviedo that he was lured by the Fountain of Eternal Youth, that in 1512 he asked and received a royal grant for the settlement of the "Island of Bimini," as Florida was then known, that he suffered many vicissitudes and was killed in battle with the Indians in 1521. His brief and fruitless effort is described by the general historians, Oviedo and Herrera, the latter of whom may have had access to a lost log or diary.

A succession of Floridan expeditions followed, all undertaken in rashness and ignorance. The most notable in its consequences was perhaps that of Pam-

filo de Narvaez, who, setting out vaguely in 1527 for a country north of Mexico, was driven ashore on the Florida coast. Narvaez was the man who had previously followed Cortes into Mexico and been defeated by him. He was ill-fitted, by experience or temperament, for permanent conquest, and his effort proved a ghastly failure, most of his men dying of starvation or disease during a wretched march to the West, the leader remaining all the time in ignorance of where he really was. Finally the fifty survivors made some clumsy rafts and took to the sea. Narvaez's boat was lost, as was that of Father Xuarez and the priests accompanying the voyage. The crews of the other three were taken captive by the Indians and dragged out a miserable existence in slavery, until finally Alvar de Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, escaped with two companions and after hairbreadth escapes reached the Gulf of California and turned South to civilization, arriving in San Miguel on April 1, 1536.

The Narvaez expedition, begun in error and ending in almost total annihilation, thus achieved the definite result of being the first journey ever made by white men within the boundaries of the United States. It is a story of more varied adventure than the Anabasis of Xenophon, and beyond doubt one of the most fascinating in our history. Cabeca de Vaca himself tells it in his *La Relacion*, etc., pub-

lished at Zamora in 1542. Of the first edition there are only two copies known, one in the New York Public Library and an imperfect one in the British Museum. The second edition came out in 1555, at Valladolid, under the title of *La Relacion y Comentarios*, etc., the *Comentarios* referring to an addition in the form of an account by Cabeza de Vaca's secretary, Pedro Hernandez, of the former's journey to the La Plata country while governor of that region. Cabeza de Vaca's *Relacion* has been criticized by Bancroft as confused, but there is no doubt as to its essential trustworthiness, and its value as the first picture of the natives in the regions he saw. It is established, however, that he did deliberately attempt to mislead others as to the lands he had seen—at any rate succeeding explorers thought so, and their imaginations were inflamed in consequence. It was no easier then to dissuade emigrating Europeans from the belief that the New World had a uniformly high gold-producing capacity than it is now.

The rest of de Vaca's career was not spent in leisure. On his return to Spain in 1537, he applied for, but did not get, the governorship of Florida, which had been given to de Soto. In 1540 he was made Governor of the Rio La Plata country, and took up his headquarters in Assuncion, the capital of Paraguay, Buenos Ayres having been given up as a city site. He made a number of valuable ex-

plorations and discovered a valuable overland route to Peru. Arrested in 1545 on a charge made by a subordinate, he was sent back to Spain for trial, where finally he got himself acquitted. He then disappears from the scene, but his writings continued to excite the hunters for adventure and gold for many years after his death.

The next to traverse the territory from Florida westward in search of the glamorous El Dorado was Hernando de Soto, who secured certain concessions from the King in 1537, the originals of which are still extant in Madrid. As is well known, de Soto's expedition was no more fruitful than the rest and after a series of savage battles with the Indians, wherein he lost many of his men, he finally died of a fever in 1546. Even the credit for the discovery of the Mississippi may not unqualifiedly be awarded to him, as Cabeza de Vaca certainly crossed its delta, and it is possible that Alonzo de Pineda also crossed its mouth as early as 1519. De Soto deserved little from Fortune. He was not a good executive; his expedition was badly planned and his cruelties to the Indians were in the best Spanish tradition. Oviedo, las Casas' opponent and by no means a sentimentalist, says of him, "This Governor was very fond of the sport of killing Indians."

The original and best description of the de Soto journey was made by an anonymous "Gentleman of Elvas," as his name appears in the title of a small

and now extremely rare book issued at Evora in 1557. A translation, of greater interest to English people, was made by Richard Hakluyt, most famous of English travel editors. Hakluyt's book, published in London, 1609, is called *Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbour*. It is an item, like most of Hakluyt's separate publications, particularly dear to the hearts of Americana collectors.

Another early account is by the same Garcia Lasso de la Vega, who wrote the *Commentary* on the conquest of Peru. It was printed in Lisbon in 1605 under the title of *La Florida del Ynca*, El Ynca now being de la Vega's ordinary appellation. It is not based on personal experience, nor is it otherwise a very good history, but it is extremely rare. Still another account is contained in the diary of Rodrigo Ranjel, de Soto's secretary. This remained in manuscript, however, until 1851.

I am forced here to ignore, as do most of the histories, the expedition of Coronado across the plains to Kansas and Nebraska—a far better campaign, better managed and led than de Soto's. It did not, unfortunately, draw forth any interesting contemporary publications. We shall return to Florida with the era of French domination, which achieved a slight retribution on the Spaniards for both the brutality and the inefficiency of their methods of conquest.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH EXPLORERS



THE first voyage to the New World under the royal flag of France was made under the command of Giovanni da Verrazano, the prototype of a long line of corsairs and pirates who were soon to assume a leading rôle in trans-Atlantic navigation. Verrazano, a Florentine, took an active part in the depredations practised against Spanish shipping during the war then raging, and received a number of dishonorable notices in contemporary Spanish reports. He was, tradition says, captured and hanged near Toledo in 1527—or at least the Spanish say so; his disappearance has never been satisfactorily explained.

Verrazano set off on his voyage in January 1524, and reached and reconnoitered the coast of what is now New England; from his own description of the country we gather that he saw a triangular island (apparently either Block Island or Martha's Vineyard), entered Newport Harbor and sailed North, effecting a landing at a place in what is now, either Maine or New Hampshire. He returned to Dieppe some time about July 1st of the same year.

The primary authority for Verrazano's voyage is a letter addressed by him to Francis I. Two copies of this exist, neither being in the original, one having been published in Italian by Ramusio in 1556, the other remaining in manuscript, also in Italian, until its discovery in Florence in the last century. There is, in addition, a large map of the world by Hieronimo de Verrazano, brother of Giovanni, which sets forth the discoveries of the latter, and styles that portion of the map, Verrazano or New Gaul. The map was apparently made in 1524. It should be added that strenuous objection has been made against acceptance of any of the Verrazano material on the ground that it is all forged. The best monograph on this subject is *The Voyage of Verrazano* by Henry C. Murphy, privately printed at New York in 1875.

Ten years after the return of Verrazano, Jacques Cartier set out under official auspices to lay the foundation of the French Empire in America. Cartier, a Breton, was known as "The Corsair" and had followed the sea all his life. He made four voyages in all, the first taking him up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he persisted in believing was the short route to India, the much-sought-for Northwest Passage, even after he got well into fresh water; his second voyage, the next year, took him to the site of Montreal. He made a third voyage in 1540, and a fourth, in association with Jean

François de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, who had obtained a royal patent, in 1542.

Very little material survives of the Cartier voyages. Ramusio published an account of the first in 1556 which remained unquestioned until the discovery in Paris, about fifty years ago, of an ancient manuscript which seems to be not only Cartier's own account of it, but even partially in his own hand; the latter version contradicts Ramusio at many points. The original description of the second voyage, the *Brief Recit & Succinte Narration*, survives in only one copy, that in the British Museum.

From this edition, John Florio, most indefatigable of English translators, produced *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to . . . Newe France*, which was printed at London in 1580. The title page of Florio's book tells us that he made his translation from Ramusio, but it is possible that this applies only to the first voyage, and that he translated the second direct. Only about half-a-dozen copies of this edition are accounted for, one of which brought \$1,000 in the Ives' sale over thirty years ago; it served as a basis for a new French edition, printed at Rouen in 1598, which indicates that the now unique 1545 Paris edition was scarce enough in its own day. Hakluyt is responsible for nearly all contemporary information on the later voyages.

Another early French chronicle is André Thevet's *Les Singulari-Tez de la France Antartique*, which first appeared in Paris in 1558, and was put into English at London ten years later as *The New Found Worlde*; it is chiefly devoted to the author's stay in South America, where he gathered a large fund of entertaining stories; eight chapters are devoted to Canada, however.

Samuel Champlain must always rank among the very first figures of American history. He belongs to that very limited group who made permanent contributions to knowledge as well as to colonization, who was at the same time explorer, soldier, statesman, observer and historian. With him one can only associate, in the New World, the names of John Smith, William Bradford and John Winthrop—and like the latter, at least, he is overshadowed by smaller, more evanescent, figures.

There are four separate publications from the hand of Champlain. They cover in detail all of his voyages save the last, which he seems to have considered unimportant. His first landing in Canada was made in 1603, and he labored as explorer and governor until 1619, after which he remained in Canada, but in a less active capacity. The four books here to be described are indeed the keystone of that portion of Americana which relates to the brief but overshadowing domination of France. Certainly they were destined to be of more perma-

nence than the material results of their author's stay in America.

The first of the four, *Des Sauvages*, etc., describes the original voyage to Canada, made in 1603. Champlain went on the invitation of Amyrar de Chastes, governor of Dieppe, who had received a grant of territory from Henry IV. Champlain petitioned the King for permission to accompany this expedition, and received it, on the fortunate condition that he bring back a detailed report of his travels. This he faithfully did, and in short order, for the date of the little book's privilege, or license, is November 15, 1603, less than two months after his return. It is a very rare item indeed, and has changed hands only twice, I think, in half a century. A second edition, dated 1604 (the first has no date), is even scarcer than the other. *Des Sauvages* is the first description of Indian life and manners in Eastern Canada.

Next in order is *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain . . . Ou, Journal Très-Fidèle des Observations Faites*, etc., which contains an account of the next four voyages, those of 1604, 1610, 1611 and 1613; the last was printed separately and bound together with the others, but with its own title page *Quatriesme Voyage de Sr de Champlain*, etc. The volume, a much larger one than *Des Sauvages*, goes into great detail concerning the flora and fauna of the country, its soil and agricultural products, and

the customs and practices of the natives. Accompanying *Les Voyages* in some copies is a large folding map showing Champlain's surveys along the coast of Massachusetts and Maine during 1604 and 1606; this map gives for the first time an approximately correct view of the coast line of New England and of its latitude and longitude. Very few copies of this map have survived, and variations exist even in those. The book was printed by Jean Berjon in Paris in 1613.

The third book is entitled *Voyages et Descouvertes Faites en la Nouvelle France, Depuis L'Année 1615 Jusques à La Fin de L'Année 1618*, published at Paris in 1619. It renews the narrative between the dates indicated. I can do no better than to follow the editor of the Church Catalogue in borrowing Winsor's synopsis of the book:

"It describes his introduction of the Recollect Fathers as missionaries to the Indians, his exploration of the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, Lake Huron, and Ontario; the attack on the Iroquois fort in the State of New York; his winter among the Hurons; and it contains his incomparable essay on the Hurons and other neighboring tribes. It has Brûlé's narrative of his experience among the savages on the southern borders of the State of New York, near the Pennsylvania line, and that of the events which occurred in the settlement at Quebec; it contains illustrations of the dress of the savages in their wars

and feasts, of their monuments for the dead, their funeral processions, of the famous fort of the Iroquois in the State of New York, and of the deer-trap." This book is lavishly illustrated with scenes of Indian life which are among the most beautiful specimens of contemporary engraving. I suppose that this work of Champlain's has been more utilized for historical romances than almost any other source-book on Canadian history. The introduction of the Recollect Fathers and their subsequent conflicts with the Jesuits recall to me some of the most fascinating yarns of my youth.

Champlain finally summed up his adventures in an elaborate volume styled *Les Voyages de La Nouvelle France Occidentale, Dicte, Canada*, which appeared first at Paris in 1632. It begins with an almost literal reprint of the previous voyages, and contains as well a review of all preceding French expeditions to the New World interwoven with his own. The portion of the narrative contained in *Les Voyages* of 1613 is abridged, sometimes considerably, but after page 210 entirely new material is introduced relating to the later period, including the important affair of the English capture of Quebec in 1629. This volume also contains the first accurate account of the Indians and Indian warfare in the interior of what is now New York State. It is, though not the rarest, the most important historically of Champlain's works.

Unfortunately this fine series of chronicles has seldom been printed. The Prince Society undertook a translation in the last century of the first three items, but their books were issued privately and in limited quantities, and are hence almost inaccessible to the average reader. An abridged translation of the 1632 *Voyages* is contained in the American Explorers series, recently issued in New York. The edition of the Champlain Society (of Canada) is, I am told, the most readily obtainable. But a reprint of all four in popular form would be well worth the consideration of any publisher.

Another first-class history which deserves mention in this place is Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de La Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1609. The author spent a year in the colony, from 1606 to 1607, and on his return completed this elaborate undertaking. It is in three parts, devoted respectively to the voyages of Verrazano, Laudonnière, Gourgues, etc.; of Cartier, Roberval, Pontrincourt (whom Lescarbot accompanied) and the earlier voyages of Champlain; the last concerns itself with Indian customs and manners. Bound in with the volume is a long poem, *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, which preserves the text of what was probably the first pageant ever held north of Spanish America. Part of the *Histoire* was translated into English under the title of *Nova Francia* by Pierre Erondelle at Hakluyt's suggestion—much the best part of Lescarbot

is in the English version. The latter appeared twice in 1609, the second and much commoner edition with the imprint of Andrew Hebb and without a date.

French effort continued along the lines marked out by Cartier and Champlain, namely, the approach to the interior of the continent via the St. Lawrence. The reason for this is clear—between the time of Cartier's tentative and Champlain's solid efforts, namely, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the two other chief lines of approach were taken and held for good and all. The Spaniards held the South, the English the Atlantic coast. The French made several desperate efforts to dislodge the former from their post of vantage and failed disastrously, just as they were one day to fail in securing from the encroaching English that which Champlain and his successors had left to them.

Let us diverge for a moment to speak of the Franco-Spanish wars in Florida. The Huguenots, under Admiral Coligny, then in his ascendancy, had planted a Protestant colony there in 1562. The Huguenots were particularly detested by the Spaniards, upon whose ships they constantly preyed under the excuse of religious warfare. An expedition was finally sent out in 1565 under Pedro Menendez de Aviles to undertake the settlement of Florida (which as we know was as yet unachieved) and to wipe out the French Colony under René Laudonnière.

The result was one of the first general naval combats and one of the worst butcheries by white men of white men in the New World. Jean Ribault arrived to succor his compatriots and to take command after Sir John Hawkins had offered his services to repatriate the colonists. He and Menendez manœuvered for position during the autumn or summer, each fearful of risking a decisive engagement. Menendez finally pressed matters by a daring stroke and won. By a secret forced march he seized Fort Caroline, the French stronghold, captured its inhabitants, and slaughtered all, save a few Catholics, in cold blood. It was a dastardly act, characteristic of the religious warfare of the day, yet not one of which the French could complain too convincingly, as they had done the same thing ten years before in Cuba. It was during this conflict that Menendez founded St. Augustine, now the oldest city in the United States, with a history uninterrupted since that day.

The history of the Huguenots' colony and of its fate is to be found in a volume issued at Paris in 1586 entitled *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride*, which is based on three letters of René de Laudonnière, the commandant. It covers the two expeditions of Ribault, made in 1562 and 1565, Laudonnière's of 1564, and the futile revenge expedition of Gourgues in 1567, wherein a number of prisoners were duly hanged. The last part is probably the

work of the editor and compiler of the book, Basanier. After Cabeza de Vaca this work gives the earliest description of Florida, a name which, by the way, covered a vastly larger amount of territory than it does now. This extraordinarily interesting story is better known from De Bry's translation of it in the second part of his *Grands Voyages*, issued in 1588, where it is illustrated with vivid illustrations by Jacques Lemoine, an artist who had accompanied Laudonnière. In the year following the issue of the French edition, Richard Hakluyt, greatest of all English compilers, who had encouraged Basanier in his undertaking, made a translation into English which he called *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages . . . Unto Florida*. Besides being one of the most absorbing of early volumes of adventure, more even than the French, since Hakluyt added some entertaining matter, it is far rarer than the latter, one of the scarcest indeed of all Hakluyt's books. Both the French and English editions were dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. The drawings of Lemoine are well worth examination to any one interested in early American iconography. Beside the De Bry volume his work may be seen in a book published in 1587, *La Clef des Champs, Pour Trouver Plusieurs Animaux, Tant Bestes Qu'Oyseaux, Avec Plusieurs Fleurs Et Fruits*; the artist was commissioned by Coligny to make a map and drawings of curious objects in the country; the



Illustration by Lemoine of DeBry's version of Laudonnière.

book was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney's mother.

There is still an earlier account of the first Ribault voyage, the *Histoire de L'Expédition Française en Florida*, published in London in 1563, of which an English edition appeared in the same year under the name of *The whole and true discoverie of Terra Florida*; I do not know if any copy of the original exists; the English version was included by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages as True and Last Discoveries of Florida*.

The French ventures to the South having thus ended in disaster, and the Huguenots being incapacitated for further organized and official effort, the whole of French attention went into opening the continent from the point of Cartier's first landing. Originally the explorers had in mind, of course, the Northwest Passage to Cathay. But, later on, with the succeeding inland travels of Marquette, Joliet and La Salle, the chief end in view was the navigation of the Mississippi—which was for long thought to empty into the Pacific.

La Salle looms very large indeed in American history; so large that jealous admirers of Champlain and Frontenac have tried to bring him down somewhat. It is certainly true that he lacked the gifts of the other two in the direction of executive and organizing capacity; but the very scope and recklessness of his movements are of the stuff that captures imaginations, and I suppose that no amount

of accurate knowledge will ever destroy the glamour that surrounds the figure of the rich proprietor and aristocratic adventurer who bankrupted himself and found a treacherous death in the desolate southwest because his bump of curiosity would not let him rest.

It had been thought until recent times that La Salle had left no account in his own hand of his wide travels; we know of none printed in his own day at any rate. However, a French scholar, Pierre Margry, turned up a large quantity of such material in the Marine Archives at Paris about 1850, which he published finally in 1876 with the assistance of the Congress of the United States. M. Margry's introduction to his *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* is an excellent contribution to our knowledge of La Salle, although scholars have criticized his overenthusiastic portrait of his hero.

The best contemporary accounts of the navigation of the Mississippi and the discovery of its mouth are by various companions and lieutenants—the *Memoir* of the brave Tonty, the second in command, the two volumes by Louis Hennepin, to be described later, and, to my mind, most interesting of all, the *Journal* of Henri Joutel. Foremost as a bibliographical rarity, however, is the *Etablissement de la Foy Dans la Nouvelle France*, by Father Chrétien Le Clerq, who compiled the narratives of

a number of people including Zenobius Membre's singular narrative, in order to give a comprehensive account of the whole affair. Father Le Clerq's book, which was printed at Paris in 1691, also contains a history of Frontenac's various wars with the Indians and of his achievements in establishing French rule in Canada; it was suppressed at the instance of the Jesuits, and very few copies have survived.

It is rather a pleasure to turn for a moment from these serious topics and consider several works of imagination which the discoveries in the Mississippi Valley brought forth. Various other periods of discovery have had historians whose fancy declined to be tied down by strict fact, the colony of Virginia contributing an especially illustrious member to this group. But New France has unquestionably the distinction of presenting the most engaging pair of liars in the long roll of those who have written about America, even in our own day.

To take them in order of their importance, Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollect Missionary and Almoner to La Salle, has a certain amount of serious claims on posterity's respect. He actually experienced much that he relates; he explored the upper Mississippi and was taken prisoner by the Sioux Indians. All of this he describes in his *Description de la Louisiane*, which he published in Paris in 1683. He issued with this book a map

which traced the Mississippi to within two or three hundred miles of the gulf, indicating by a dotted line the probable direction of the part he thus confesses by implication not to know.

Several years later, in 1687, La Salle was shot from ambush by some of his own party. Ten years after that Hennepin brought out a new work which he had had in hand for a long time. It was the *Nouvelle Découverte D'Un Très Grand Pays*, which first appeared at Utrecht in 1697. Hennepin, having had some quarrel with his order in Canada, had virtually expatriated himself, and searched about outside of France for a publisher; the book appeared with a sycophantic dedication to King William III of England, and with a declaration on the author's part that the narrative "is faithful, sincere and wholly to be believed."

The extraordinary effrontery of the whole thing disarms indignation. Hennepin declares that now that he may speak without fear he is ready to stand forth as the explorer of the Mississippi, the credit for which he had been robbed of by La Salle. He cunningly exploits the ignorance of the reader, and helps himself to little-known books, particularly to Father Le Clerq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, which was already scarce because of the Jesuits' hostility. The reverend father was a brazen, impudent prevaricator, but so much of a person that one cannot help having a qualified admiration for him, even

though he libeled better men. And it all mattered very little, since he was sat upon promptly, and his reputation has never been rehabilitated, though he has had one or two apologists. Hennepin's fiction was enormously popular in his own day, being quickly reprinted and widely translated; the *Nouvelle Découverte* contains a delightful engraving of Niagara Falls. A sort of supplement to the 1697 volume was printed in Utrecht the following year, entitled *Nouveau Voyage D'Un Pais Plus Grand Que L'Europe*; it is also a plagiarism, and less important than the other.

Rivalling Hennepin in contemporary popularity was Baron La Hontan, whose description of the discovery of a wondrous country which existed only in his imagination is one of the most entertaining bits of dishonest literature ever circulated. La Hontan was different in most ways from his reverend contemporary; he was a young Gascon blade, an official in Canada and a great favorite of Governor Frontenac. He was also an expatriate, owing to a quarrel with his superior, and his chief work, *Nouveaux Voyages Dans L'Amérique Septentrionale*, was obliged to go to the Hague for publication (1703). La Hontan's book is more purely a work of the imagination than Hennepin's; there is very little basis of fact in it, but it is the expression of a gay, caustic and skeptical soul, qualities every decent charlatan should have. There is almost no

malice in it, and the borrowing is quite harmless. Like his contemporary, La Hontan was quickly and completely discredited; but like him also, he has survived many more reliable historians. His book went through editions all over Europe, and has been reprinted in recent years—Mr. V. H. Paltsits of the New York Public Library has made a bibliography of his editions.

Before taking leave of our shelf of French Americana, a word should be said about the *Jesuit Relations*, that invaluable series of chronicles sent home by the Superiors of the Society of Jesus in Canada each year. A single such missive, written by Charles Lalemant for the year 1626, was printed in Paris in 1627. There was then a lapse until 1632, when Father Paul le Jeune resumed the practice, and it was continued by successive Superiors annually until 1672. All were printed at Paris by Sebastien Cramoisy, who in 1640 became Royal Printer; on his death in 1669, the work was carried on by his grandson and namesake.

A complete set of the *Relations* is the ultimate hope of the rich Americana collector—or his *Pons Asinorum*, as Sabin says in his *Dictionary*. No one has ever gathered such a set, nor is any one ever likely to. The editions were probably small, the books were inexpensive, and the public read them with avidity. A number of them were reprinted very rapidly, and the detection of differences is a

critical matter. The item of expense is not a minor difficulty—the last sale known to me was the Henry Huntington duplicate of the 1661 *Relation*, which brought \$3,600 in 1918.

Considering that the probable authors of these books were cultivated men, and that the subjects of which they write are intrinsically interesting, the *Relations* are rather crude and tedious. Nevertheless they are of unique historical value, particularly to students of Canadian History. The Canadian Government reprinted them in 1858 in three octavo volumes, but the set is now hard to find. The supplemental relations, known as the Cramoisy reprints, prepared after 1672, but not published, were printed about fifty years ago.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH EXPLORATION



WE now take a long step backward in time to the year 1497, when John Cabot, a Venetian, embarked from Bristol on the first voyage (if we disregard the Lief Ericson and Madoc legends) across the North Atlantic. This, in its consequences, was most pregnant of all the voyages after that of 1492, for it furnished the basis of the claim whereby the English were one day to dominate the Continent. To the early propagandists, like Hakluyt, to the statesmen who governed English policy in the wars with France during the eighteenth century, the discoveries of the Cabots were paramount evidence of Britain's rights in North America.

Yet none of the voyages, great or small, are more poorly substantiated by documents as these of the Cabots. For the fateful first voyage there is literally nothing which can be traced to John Cabot or any person who accompanied him—not even a reported conversation. The patent which King Henry VII gave to “John Cabotto, citizen of Venes, Lewes

Sebestyan and Sancto, his sonneys," on March 5, 1496, is preserved in Hakluyt; there is a map, made in 1500, by Juan de la Cosa, who was with Columbus in the second voyage, which depicts a vague portion of the north-eastern coast of the new continent as "*Mar Descubierta Por Inglese*" and at the eastern cape "*Cavo De Ynglaterra*," and there are several letters from foreigners resident in London at the time to their relatives or principals at home—one from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers in Venice, two from Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan. A great deal of contemporary information is contained in official and semi-official correspondence which is gradually being found in the various public archives of Europe. But neither the license, the map or the letters are direct evidence; and curiously, since all of them disappeared later, the generations immediately succeeding the Cabotean voyages must have had less substance than we for the great Cabot legend they created and handed down.

According to the la Cosa map John Cabot landed between Halifax and Southern Labrador, presumably some time towards the end of June, 1497. He returned the same year, and according to our information of the following eight months, the only period in his life of which we know definitely, he became afflicted with an illness and an even more serious conceit. He sailed again, as the first time,

on his own charge and risk, in the spring of 1498, and was never more heard of. His pension for 1499 was drawn, but not by himself.

His son Sebastian became, after his father's death, one of the most notorious personages in Europe. It is very difficult to get an accurate conception of Sebastian. He was assuredly not the egregious scoundrel that Harrisse makes him out to have been, nor is he the archetype of the glorious navigator that the early nineteenth century pictured him. I have read many furious arguments on the subject, and incline slightly to Harrisse's side, but there is simply nothing to determine the question either way. Harrisse claims that Sebastian tried to steal from his father the credit for the 1497 discovery, but it is at least as likely that others made this claim for him. A curious symbol of the uncertainty surrounding the whole matter is the portrait of Sebastian, attributed, probably wrongly, to Holbein. This famous picture, after hanging in Whitehall for many years, disappeared—it is mentioned by Purchas, the follower of Hakluyt, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Mr. Richard Biddle, a high authority on Cabot, purchased the picture after its rediscovery in England and brought it to Pittsburgh, where it was burned with his house and library in 1845. Two copies of it still exist, one in Boston and one in New York. This picture bore an inscription in the upper left-hand corner :

EFFIGIES. SEBASTIANI CABOTI ANGLI
 FILII. JOHANIS. CABOTI. VENETI.
 MILITIS. AVRATI. PRIMI. INVENTORIS.
 TERRÆ NOVÆ SUB HENRICO VII. AN-
 GLIÆ REGE.

Who the "Knight" was who discovered America, whether John or Sebastian, is as much a mystery as if the inscription had never been written. As far as we know neither father nor son had ever been knighted; but even if that were determined, the peculiar construction of the Latin leaves the riddle as insoluble as ever. If Sebastian meant the painter to immortalize him as the *Inventor*, he might have left his father out of it. The claim to being English has also caused prolonged discussion; Holinshed, in his *Chronicles*, calls Sebastian "an Englishman native of Bristol, sonne of a Genowaies." Other writers made the same claim, but usually, it would seem, with the patriotic desire to rivet England's claims by having the discoverer a native. This may explain too the sixteenth-century disregard of John in favor of his son, whose earliest independent voyage, as far as we know, was a fruitless quest for the northwest passage in 1508.

Nevertheless, assured though it is that the father's name is of far greater moment in American annals than the son's, and grave as the latter's faults

undoubtedly were, it seems to me, who am no great admirer of Sebastian, that the current tendency to depreciate him has gone too far. He held the important post of Pilot-Major to Spain and was consulted in regard to preparations for voyages and the making of maps and charts; the Cabot map of 1544 is a historic relic. Though his first known voyage was a failure, he had the arctic ice and his own men against him. When he found the north-western route to Cathay blocked, he tried a north-eastern one, which, though equally unsuccessful, resulted in the establishment of a fur trade with Russia. That his fame was not altogether factitious or posthumous is evident from the fact that two kings, Henry VIII and Charles V, strenuously competed for his services. On the other hand, when the English monarch levied upon the twelve great livery companies in 1521 for financial support of a voyage to be undertaken by Cabot, the companies responded with the grave charge "which Sebastyan as we here say was nevr in that land hym self, all if he make the reports of many things as he hath heard his father and other men speke in tyme past." Sebastian has been called, with obvious reason, the Sphinx of early discovery.

Though there are few contemporary authorities on the Cabots, there were contemporary authors aplenty. Nearly all of the early historians and collectors of voyages contain descriptions of their voy-

ages, but many of these are futile as evidence, as they are obviously copies one from another. The earliest account is Peter Martyr's, in his *Third Decade*; then follows the very dubious conversation in Ramusio between an unknown Mantuan and Sebastian. The general historians Gomara, Oviedo and Herrera each contribute paragraphs, but no new information. These writers apparently were ignorant of documents which we now know, such as the before-mentioned engraved map of 1544, attributed to Cabot, which was lost for three centuries.

English authors of all sorts, of course, devoted themselves to recounting the deeds of the first explorers to sail under the English flag. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's discourse "*Of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*" London, 1576, tells of the mutiny which forced his predecessor in this quest to turn back. The most extensive of all English writers on the subject is, as often, Hakluyt. The little-known *Divers Voyages* of 1582 gives the Patent under which the first voyage was undertaken and other matter not published elsewhere. His *Particular Discourse Concerning Western Discoveries* was written in 1584, "at request of Sir Walter Raleigh," as a private memorandum to the queen for the purpose of stimulating her interest in trans-Atlantic colonization. In it the author reviews the entire story of discovery, with particular reference

to the Cabots, in order to prove England's prior right to the entire Eastern coast from Labrador to Florida. This *Discourse* was not published until 1897. Hakluyt was also probably responsible for the legend on the famous Wright-Molyneux map, which accompanied the 1599-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*; this legend, engraved across the Northern Labrador mainland, reads "This land was discovered by John Sebastien Cabot for King Henry 1497." The year in previous editions had been given as 1494, a date Hakluyt tried hard to establish, as it would have still further strengthened his country's claim. Hakluyt's successor, Samuel Purchas, carried the Cabotean legend and English claims to its last absurdity by suggesting "Caboto" or "Sebastiana" as the most appropriate name for the already misnamed America.

For many years England followed the example of France and did nothing about her first discoveries. In the early part of the century her fishermen drifted regularly across the Northern seas, but it was a long time before these sporadic expeditions bore fruit. England was having problems of her own, and not until the period of tranquillity which followed Elizabeth's assumption of the throne did her thoughts again turn toward America. Even then nothing definite was accomplished for several decades; the North was unpromising and the South owned by the Spaniards, with whom the English

were as yet at peace. The second half of the century is the history of bucaneeering and incidental encounters with the Spanish in the South, and the renewal of the hunt for the passage to China, or Cathay, in the North.

The first of the great bucaneeers was John, later Sir John Hawkins, son of the William Hawkins who began the slave-trade with Brazil. John began his own career with a slave raid in Guinea in 1562. He made two other voyages, during the first of which he gave generous succor to Laudonnière's wretched little colony in Florida. During the third voyage an event occurred which was to have a profound effect on Hispano-British relations in the New World.

Starting home from a successful trading venture to the West Indies he was driven with his five ships, by a terrific storm, into the port of San Juan d'Ulua (Vera Cruz), on the coast of Mexico. The following day a Spanish squadron appeared at the mouth of the bay, and was permitted, after cautious negotiations, to enter. Several days later the Spaniards turned on Hawkins' little fleet without warning. Outnumbered and taken by surprise, three of the English ships were disabled, and Hawkins barely escaped by transferring from his flagship, the *Jesus*, which Queen Elizabeth had given him, to the *Minion*. The only other ship to escape was the tiny *Judith*, commanded by Francis

Drake, a kinsman of Hawkins. A hundred persons were forced to land from the *Minion*, owing to overcrowding; they fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and were subjected to the most abominable tortures of the Auto-da-Fé. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, writing in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, says of this act of treachery, "The Spanish Crown that day brought down a storm of rapine and misery from which it never recovered. The accursed doctrine of the Inquisition, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, proved a dangerous doctrine for Spain when the heretics were such men as Hawkins, Cavendish and Drake. On that day Francis Drake learned his lesson of Spanish treachery; and he learned it so well that he determined on his revenge." That revenge he took so thoroughly that for more than a hundred years he is spoken of in Spanish annals as "The Dragon."

Hawkins' disastrous third voyage ended when he, after many difficulties, "arrived in Mounts baye in Cornwale y XXV of the same month (January 1568/9) praised be God therefore." In the same year he published his own account of that voyage, *A True Declaration of the Troublesome Voyage . . . To the Parties of Guynea and the West Indies*, which is now one of the rarest gems of Americana. It is the earliest book written and printed in the English language that pertains to the adventures of an Englishman in the Western world; all earlier

English books on the subject were mere translations from other languages. It contains the only account of important events of which we should never have known otherwise—and in no period of American history is there a greater dearth of exact information than in this. It is from nearly every point of view a key-book.

I do not know how many copies have survived, but I have been able to find record of only one, that in the Huntington Library in California. One famous bibliography of English literature, Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, states that such a volume was printed in 1569, but another, Sabin's *Dictionary*, denies it, and says it was merely included in the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. I have been able to find no record of its sale in recent years—certainly whoever discovered a stray copy would be royally rewarded for his luck.

Francis Drake, the scourge of the Spaniards, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, finally succeeded in arousing among his countrymen a permanent interest in what was to be their greatest colonial heritage. His various privateering exploits and particularly his return to Plymouth on September 26, 1580, from his voyage round the world called forth a quantity of praise, comment, speculation and reference which grew so rapidly in volume that one wonders how English authors of the time succeeded in getting their plays and poems printed.

The voyage round the world, beyond dispute one of the most fascinating adventure stories in the world, was recorded by Francis Fletcher, his chaplain. *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, based on Fletcher's notes, was published at London in 1628. It was reprinted in 1635, and included in *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, a "Summary and true Relation of foure severall Voyages made by the said Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies," London, 1652-53; the latter is a sort of definitive edition of its hero's activities. The circumnavigation is also included in Hakluyt, who first printed it privately with his edition of 1589, in order to avoid hurting the friends of Drake who were preparing their own versions; it appeared openly in the 1600 edition. Hakluyt's version, said to be by Francis Pretty, is the earliest, but by no means so good as Fletcher's, which, for all its faults, is an authoritative presentation of a great adventure.

Drake's plundering expedition of 1585-86 was first printed in Latin at Leyden, in 1588, under the title of *Expeditio Francesci Draki*, etc. This edition has four folding maps: of Cartagena, St. Augustine, San Domingo and St. Jacques, places Drake captured and plundered. An English version appeared the following year under the title of a *Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, which went through three editions in a year; all three editions are extraordinarily rare,

and the minute bibliographical points which distinguish them are matter for closest study. The two first were printed by Richard Field, a well-known printer of the time, using the maps of the Leyden edition, with a fifth entitled *The Famouse West Indian Voyage*. A copy of one of these was sold in 1917 for \$5,600. The first part of this work was written by Walter Bigges, an officer under Drake, and finished after his suicide by his lieutenant, Crofts. The editor, Thomas Cates, in the dedication to the Earl of Essex, vouches from personal knowledge for the truth of this report. It was in this expedition of 1585, incidentally, that Drake rescued the survivors of Raleigh's ill-fated Roanoke Island Colony, of which we shall hear shortly.

No complete reprint of this brilliant series of raids has ever been made; most of the facts are given by Hakluyt.

Meantime, while Hawkins and Drake were harassing the Spaniards to the South and preparing the way for the traders and colonists who were shortly to follow, other English ships were turning their bows in the direction that John Cabot had taken. Very little was yet known of the Northern country; South America was fairly well charted when North America was still considered a group of more or less barren islands barring the way to the gold and spices of Zipangu and Cataia, our Japan and China. The little that was known of

this country was unfavorable as compared with the riches of Mexico, Peru and the East, and the English, barred from the two former, were impatient to appropriate a route to the latter.

Much of the misapprehension on which these voyages were based was due to a curious book which appeared at Venice in 1558. It was called *Dei Commentarii Del Viaggio in Persia . . . Et Dello Scoprimiento Dell' Isole Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotilanda & Icaria*, of Caterino Zeno. It purported to be an account of the voyages of the brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno of Venice; and alleges that in or about 1380 they discovered Iceland, Greenland and other places on the Northwestern route. Tradition has put the Zeni at the head of all pre-Columbian discoveries, but this volume was the first published account of their discoveries. The map accompanying the book was the real cause of the trouble; the author declares that he found an old manuscript chart of his ancestors from which he reproduced it. In it he included Iceland and Greenland, depicting them much more accurately than any other contemporary map. Unfortunately, he also includes an island called Estotiland, which is in the latitude of Labrador, hence deceiving the sixteenth-century navigators into the belief that the actual mainland was part of a non-existent group of islands. Much energy has been expended in arguing the authenticity of the Zeno voyage. Dr. Rich-

ard A. Major of the British Museum accepted it and influenced most of his contemporaries to do so, chiefly on the ground that the map was too accurate for its time to have been forged on the basis of existing material. Later opinion seems to agree with Mr. F. W. Lucas' verdict, in *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno* (London, 1898), that "Zeno's work has been one of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which has ever gulled a confiding public."

Martin Frobisher, first of the great Northwest explorers, had the Zeno map with him when he sailed on his first voyage in 1576. Great hopes were entertained of this expedition, twenty thousand pounds being subscribed by various notables, including Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Warwick, Leicester and Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Thomas Gresham and others. The largest shareholder, Michael Lok, later accused Frobisher of neglecting the chief purpose of the expedition and dallying about on a hunt for gold. Certainly Frobisher created tremendous excitement on his return from his first voyage by bringing back a piece of black stone, which, after being allowed to fall, by accident, into the fire and drenched in vinegar by the wife of the friend to whom he gave it, reappeared a bright gold color. There was no lack of funds for the succeeding venture, one may be sure. During it he gath-

ered two hundred tons of the ore, and on his succeeding voyage, in 1578, thirteen hundred tons, but it all proved of small value, and the enthusiastic *entrepreneurs* lost most of their subscriptions.

The best commentary on the state of the English mind with regard to America at this time is the rapidity with which books about the Frobisher voyages came off the press. At least half-a-dozen survive to us which were written and printed in 1577-78, the very years of the last two voyages themselves. The most comprehensive is Captain George Best's *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie*, etc., which deals in three separate parts with the three voyages, and contains one of the most important world-maps of the time. Of separate accounts the first voyage apparently has two, of which the only one I know is by Christopher Hall, the shipmaster, in Hakluyt; Winsor refers to an official paper, but does not mention its whereabouts. The separate account of the second voyage is the rarest of all Frobisher material, and one of the rarest books in the English portion of Americana. It is Dionyse Settle's *A True Report of the Last Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions*, etc., a pamphlet of twenty-four unnumbered leaves published in London in 1577. This small book, which is a mine of information concerning a little-known region, was reprinted in the same year, the chief difference between the two editions being the sig-

natures or sheets; the first has A and D in fours, B and C in eights, whereas the second contains only three signatures of eight leaves each. The last copy of the second edition to be sold, a Huntington duplicate, brought \$6,900. Settle and Best both accompanied Frobisher, but there are a number of variations between them.

Another item belonging to the second voyage is by the fertile Thomas Churchyard, whose journalistic instinct led him to occupy himself with the subject of greatest current interest. *A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Froboisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita* (London, 1578) casts a number of interesting lights on current opinion in England, as for instance the assertion, based on Eden, that Cabot explored the coast from 67° to 36° North. Churchyard's *métier* was eulogy rather than description, and he celebrated in turn a number of the contemporary explorers in prose and verse. One of such works *A Discourse of the Queen's Maiesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk* (London, 1578) while telling of the Queen's progress through those counties in the autumn of 1578, contains verses in honor of "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Maister Henry Knolles and others, right worthy and honest gentlemen, presently passed towards a happy voyage, as I hope;" bound up at the very end of several of the remaining copies of this book is a *Welcome Home* to Frobisher, who had returned

from his last voyage in October. It is likely that the verses were put to print after most of the tract had been bound, which accounts for their absence in all but those few copies.

A long list of hardy explorers followed Frobisher to the Northwest, John Davis, James Hall, Sir Thomas Button, William Baffin, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Hendrick Hudson, Thomas James, George Waymouth, Luke Fox and others. Of these Gilbert, Hudson and Waymouth will be considered in a subsequent chapter, as the immediate precursors of the period of permanent colonization, while the others, save two, though deservedly immortalized in the names of their discoveries and the records of historians, have left no record of the kind with which we are concerned here. The most notable exception is Luke Fox, or Northwest Fox as he is more commonly known, who made one of the last ventures into the waters whose passage was finally to be achieved by Amundsen nearly three hundred years later.

Fox sailed on May 5, 1631, and returned within six months, having in the meantime explored the western part of Hudson's Bay. Four years later he published the delightful book which will always link his name with the romantic delusion which bewitched Europe's sailors, adventurers and geographers for nearly a hundred years. I shall quote

the title more completely than usual, for reasons which must be immediately obvious:

North-VVest Fox, /or,/ Fox from the Northwest Passage.// Beginning with King Arthur, Malga, Octhur, the Two Zeni's of Iseland, Estotiland, and Dorgia: Following with Briefe Abstracts of the Voyages of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, Waymouth, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge . . . // Mr. Iames Hall's Three Voyages to Groynland. . . . With the Author His Owne Voyage, being the XIVth. . . . By Captaine Luke Foxe of Kingstone Vpon Hull, Capt.// and Pylot for the Voyage, in His Majesties Pinnace// the Charles.//

Fox, in leading up to his own voyage through those of his predecessors, was merely following the precedent of other writers, notably John Smith, whose *General History* had only just dropped from the best-seller class. Fox has his own style, however, quaint and unpretentious. He gives a great deal of valuable information on ice, tides, bearings and northern phenomena. He also made a circum-polar map, which is to be found with only one or two copies of the book; the latter without the map is not as rare as most of the items recently mentioned, following the rule well known to book-collectors that a large book is seldom a rare one. A good copy may still be had for less than \$500.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL HISTORIANS



It is usually considered necessary for a period to terminate before the historians get to work on it, but the first century of American history, the period of discovery and exploration which preceded that of settlement and colonization, wrote as it ran. Outside of the authors of the books we have so far mentioned, who for the most part led or at least took part in the events they describe, a body of more or less trained historians were busy interviewing the actors in these scenes, collecting source documents, compiling, editing, annotating, interpreting. The writings of Columbus, Vespuccius, Cortes, Champlain and Settle may be likened to the rich columns and architraves of our historical edifice, while the compilations and comments of Martyr, Ramusio, Oviedo, Hakluyt, De Bry and the rest are the quarries from which we draw the material for its more prosaic portions; the structure would present many unsightly gaps had we not these quarries to draw upon. Nevertheless I freely confess that I wish this chapter had not to be done. There is little inspiring in

the best of compilers, useful as their work may be, and the ennui becomes intense at the not infrequent spectacle of these literary cooks making hash of the work of greater men. I shall sketch the best and omit the others altogether.

The first historian of America was, like its discoverer, an Italian who made his home and his fame in Spain. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, or Peter Martyr, as he is usually styled in English, was preëminently fitted for his self-imposed task. He was born in Italy in 1455 and acquired the best education the age afforded. His attainments and personality gave him ready entry everywhere; at Rome he was the intimate of several of the leading cardinals, and later, in Spain, after being ordained priest, became tutor to the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, who sent him, in 1501, as their diplomatic representative to Egypt.

From the very first he took a keen interest in the voyages of discovery, and numbered among his acquaintances most of the important early discoverers, including Columbus, Vasco de Gama, Cortes, Sebastian Cabot and Magellan. From these and others he gained his information, supplementing it with official documents to which he had free access as a member of the Council for the Indies. His wide circle of correspondents in the capitals of Europe gave him an outlet for his eager pen, and in the more than eight hundred letters which have

come down to us we have an incomparable picture, not only of the discoveries, but of their effect on the people of his day. His published works were based upon these letters, which he amplified in detail and re-wrote with an eye to literary style.

We have already seen that the earliest document connected with the third voyage of Columbus was the *Libretto* of 1504, which Angelo Trivigiano translated from Martyr's letters. There is, however, extant Martyr's very first reference to the New World, contained in a letter of May 17, 1493, "A few days afterward one Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, returned from the Western Antipodes, having with only three ships penetrated to that province which he believed to be legendary; he returned bringing substantial proofs in the shape of many precious things and particularly of gold, which is a natural product of these regions, *but we must pass over foreign affairs.*" His first reference to the Discovery was a bit casual, it would seem from the above, but later letters elaborate the theme.

The original formal publication of Martyr's history was entitled *Opera Legatio Babylonica Oceani Decas Peomata Epigrammata* and was printed at Seville in 1511 by the same Jacob Cromberger whose imprint appears on so many priceless early American books. This edition contains only the First Decade, and not quite all of that, as more was added in the next, which appeared with the Second

and Third Decades at Alcalá in 1516. The entire work, consisting of Eight Decades, was issued at Complutum, or Alcalá (a place well known to collectors of famous Bibles), in 1530, four years after Martyr's death, under the name of "*De Orbe Novo . . . Decades.*"

A volume the size of this one, at least, would be necessary to describe the various editions and translations of Martyr's work, and of the other works it influenced. The complete *Decades* of 1530 came out in a huge volume at Paris in 1587 under the title of *De Orbe Novo . . . Decades Octo*. The 1516 edition reappeared at Basle in 1533 in conjunction with a small tract of 1521 *De Nuper Sub d Carolō Repertis Insulis* already mentioned as containing a précis of the first Cortes letters. During the previous year, that is, 1532, a summary of the first three Decades had been issued in French under the title of *Extraict ou Recueil des Isles* together with an abstract of the 1521 tract and of the second and third letters of Cortes. This, the first collection of voyages in French, was from the celebrated press of Simon de Colines, a name revered by lovers of beautiful books. Another abstract, in Italian, was joined to Oviedo's earliest history by Ramusio in a volume which appeared at Venice in 1534. Martyr was also the basis of the first English book of Western travel, as we shall see later on in this chapter.

As I have already indicated Martyr was peculiarly fit for the rôle of America's first historian; his talents were great and his opportunities for gathering information unequaled. His enthusiasm for the events which transpired during the last quarter century of his life was almost mystic, and he had the rare knack of seeing them in some sort of perspective and investing them with a proper significance. His attitude toward his work had the atmosphere of a dedication—in one of his letters he declares he is unwilling to leave Spain because there he finds the source of news of the West Indies, and that these advantages give him hope of leaving his name to remotest posterity as a historian.

Many verdicts have been passed on him in these four hundred years, but none of them seem more just than a very early one by his great contemporary, las Casas. The latter says, in estimating the writers who had themselves no personal knowledge of the new lands, "To no one should more faith be given than to Peter Martyr, who wrote his *Decades* in Latin, being in Castile at that time, because what he said in touching the beginning was by the assistance of the Admiral himself, the first discoverer, to whom he spoke many times, and inquired of those who were in his company, and of others who made those voyages in the first place. In other matters relating to the development and growth of these Indies, his *Decades* contain some falsehoods."

The illustrious monk's qualification is not altogether free from bias, but the judgment, being by one historian on another, is in essence no less just than it is handsome.

Several minor historians were contemporary with Martyr. Fracanzano Montalboddo has already been referred to; his curious little book, *Paesi Novamente Retrovati* printed in 1507, is the second of all books of voyages (the *Libretto* of 1504 being the first). Equally odd, though not so rare is the *Suma de Geographia*, etc., by Martin Fernandez d'Enciso, a lawyer who acquired wealth in Santo Domingo, and held an important office there. His book was published by Cromberger at Seville in 1519. It is principally a work on navigation, designed to aid pilots and mariners in accomplishing discoveries. It also gave a brief hint of the magnificence of the Aztec civilization, which served as a spark to kindle the imaginations of a long series of later writers. Enciso's folio is the first book printed in Spanish relating to America—a curious fact when we remember that the first bulletin was in Spanish; the actual books, in the sense of a quantity of sheets bound or fastened together were, as we know, principally in Latin or Italian. It is a curious volume in many ways, and suggests that the Inquisition must have been careless in letting it by. As a work of navigation it probably took precedence of all others until Pedro de Medina issued first in

1545 his *L'Arte Del Navigar*, which took rank at once as the best and most popular work of the kind in Europe. Medina's book was rapidly reprinted in several tongues. It was so popular in its own day that very few copies have survived. I have never seen a copy of the first edition, and even the Italian version of 1554 has become so rare that I can only trace three copies of it. Medina's work was eventually supplanted by Martin Cortes' *The Arte of Navigation*, which Richard Eden translated into English in 1561.

The names of Oviedo and Ramusio have already been brought into our story, the latter having combined the former's *de la Natural Hystoria de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526) with a portion of Peter Martyr to make up his *Summario Della Historia Delle Indie*. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, a member of an old Spanish family, went out to the Isthmus of Panama with Pedro Arias, the governor who persecuted Balboa, and was present when Pizarro was equipping his first expedition. He resided for many years at Hispaniola, or Santo Domingo, and shortly after 1530 was appointed official *Chronicler of the Indies*. To this office, besides his long experience in the West Indies, as observer and official, he brought a flair for anecdote and personal reminiscence.

His great work is *La Historia General de las Indias*, over which he spent a great many years, and

whose first volume appeared at Seville in 1535 from the press of the indefatigable Cromberger. It is a vast repository of facts, often labored in style, inaccurate in detail and lacking in perspective between first and second hand information, but indispensable nevertheless for the period of which it treats.

Oviedo was a man of strong mind, and frequently reaches conclusions opposed to those of other historians. He was in continual conflict with las Casas over questions relating to the administration of the Indies, and is considerably less partial than the latter in his view of Columbus.

It is difficult to trace a good deal of the rest of Oviedo's work. He continued on the *History* almost to his death in 1557, but much of his later work remained in manuscript. A revised and expanded edition appeared in 1547, and a further instalment by Oviedo himself was in press at the time of his death. So many versions and translations of this author exist as to render a bibliography a difficult affair; one is attempted in *The Narrative and Critical History*, Volume II, page 345.

The office of Chronicler for the Indies passed on in turn to a number of noted historians. The immediate successor of Oviedo was Antonio de Herrera, who held the post for nearly fifty years. Herrera had access to more documents than any historian before or since, and though frequently criticized by modern historians for faults in style

and judgment, he has remained one of their chief reservoirs of facts for the first century of discovery. His principal work is the *Historia General de los Hechos delos Castellanos*, etc., which was issued in two parts, the first at Madrid in 1601, the second in 1615. There is sometimes bound with the former a rare little tract, the *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, which found separately is an attractive little collector's item. The *Historia General* is a systematic work, arranged chronologically in decades, of which there are eight, outside the tract above mentioned, covering intensively the years 1492 to 1554. The work was not translated into English until 1725, when John Stevens issued a six-volume edition in London, which is generally considered to be worthless.

A contemporary of Herrera's, a Milanese traveler named Girolamo Benzoni, issued a book based on his own observations in the Spanish colonies. *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Venice, 1565, is of small account as a history; it was translated into many languages, chiefly, no doubt, because of its criticism of the Spaniards, who never undertook to translate it into their own tongue. Its chief points of interest are the story of Columbus and the egg, an original if neither important nor truthful contribution to Columbian lore, and the author's portrait, which he prefixes to his book.

Another Spanish chronicle of considerable in-

terest is the *Primera y Segunda Parte Dela Historia General*, etc., of Francisco Lopez de Gomara, the chaplain and secretary of Cortes. This work, issued at Saragossa in 1553, deals respectively with the conquests of Peru and Mexico, though the second part actually was printed a year earlier than the first. Gomara's book was also republished in the original and translation over fifty times in as many years. The author has been generally criticized for his partiality towards Cortes, but his attitude toward the Spanish in general was somewhat less favorable, and an edict of suppression against the book had nominal force for nearly two centuries. Partially in consequence of this the little folio has now become quite rare. The two parts were published separately in 1554, and the Mexican portion first, now called *Cronica de la Nueva Espana*, was utilized in 1578 for an English translation, called *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*. The translator, Thomas Nicholson, nowhere even mentions the name of the author of the original. *The Pleasant Historie* is the only early English version of Gomara, who for some peculiar reason has been termed "The Father of American History."

The greatest of the Italian compilers was Giovanni Battista Ramusio, a cultivated teacher of geography and history, who spent the latter part of his life (he died in 1557, the same year as

Oviedo) in collecting and editing his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, which appeared at Venice in three parts; a fourth was burnt in manuscript when a fire destroyed the house of his publishers, the Giunti, shortly after his death. The last of the three, which bears the date 1556, is exclusively concerned with America, and contains original documents and translations pertaining to most of the events which had taken place up to the time it was written. Original sources on Cortes, Pizarro, Columbus, Verrazano, Cartier and others were preserved in this bulky volume, some of which, as the story of Cartier's first voyage to Canada and the *Relatione d'un Gentilhuomo* concerning Cortes, are unique in their information. Ramusio, unlike some of his contemporaries previously mentioned, had no axes to grind, nor did he, as they often did, abridge and distort in the effort to improve history. He selected originals and translations of works which had previously appeared in Latin, Spanish or French, and of hitherto unpublished manuscripts and gave them careful and intelligent editing. The result is that he has been held in highest esteem by posterity, scholars, historians and readers; succeeding editors, especially Hakluyt, are deeply indebted to him, as they often acknowledge.

The era of compilation came to its culmination in the gigantic works of Hakluyt and De Bry, two names which are bywords to all collectors of

Americana. What their predecessors had attempted in a small way they achieved in a monumental one, and, to put it mildly, American history would be a much poorer thing if the editors of the *Principal Navigations* and the *Grands* and *Petits Voyages* had not lived. Although Hakluyt came first in point of time, and was De Bry's direct and personal inspiration, I shall take up the latter first, reserving the former for the brief consideration of the English historians to follow.

De Bry's original plan was to publish his voyages in four languages, Latin, German, French and English, but after the very first volume appeared, in 1590, he gave up the last two, probably because of lack of interest in France and England, and carried on the *Grands Voyages* in German and Latin only. The *Petits Voyages*, of which the first volume appeared in 1598, all came out in those two languages alone. The difference between these two sets of voyages is that the former is concerned exclusively with America, the latter with Africa and the East. Both are in folio, the *Grands Voyages* series being somewhat larger in size than the other.

Theodore De Bry, of Frankfort, who began the work which was to be carried on for so many years by himself and his family, was a skilled engraver, to whose burin we owe many of the illustrations so perennially fascinating. In 1587 he went to England and met Richard Hakluyt, who was then

working on his own *chef-d'œuvre*. The generous Englishman not only encouraged the German to begin a rival series, but furnished him with material for a beginning, including designs for illustrations and a copy of the now exceedingly precious *Virginia* of Thomas Hariot, which constitutes Part I of the *Grands Voyages* in all four languages. We shall hear more of Hariot's book in connection with the founding of the Virginia Colony.

It would be idle here to attempt the barest outline of the many De Bry editions and their variations. A mere summary of them in the John Carter Brown Library catalogue occupies sixty-one of Mr. Berkeley Updike's beautifully printed pages. In brief there are thirteen parts of the *Grands Voyages* in Latin, fourteen in German, one each in French and English; of the *Petits Voyages* there are twelve parts in Latin and thirteen in German.

Theodore De Bry died in 1598, and his widow and two sons carried on the work until 1602, when the *Grands Voyages* were discontinued until 1619, in which year Part X was published by the surviving son, Johann Theodore. The volumes came out intermittently until 1634, when they finally stopped for good. Meantime public demand had called forth second and third editions of various of the volumes, and the De Brys, finding sheets of various portions of the original issues on hand, had re-

printed the missing portions of those parts and bound them for sale. Hence the confusion is extreme. No greater bibliographical problem exists than the proper arrangement of these editions in order. Many competent scholars have attempted to unravel the problem, including the Earl of Crawford, whose *Collations and Notes* on De Bry are the first authority, Mr. H. N. Stevens, and the able editor of the E. Dwight Church catalogue. The bulletin of the New York Public Library for May 1904 describes about three hundred and forty parts and their variations. I have scanned all of these publications with some attention, and begin to understand why even the richest and best-informed of bibliophiles have given up demanding certainty in their collections of De Bry.

The *Grands Voyages* constitute a cherished section of all the principal libraries of Americana, however, and few volumes are as lovely to handle as the stately tomes to which three generations of De Brys dedicated so much of their working lives. It is true that the pictures are often imaginary and not infrequently absurd as representations of their subjects. But it is also true that they are often splendid examples of the engraver's art, and based on drawings by artists who had visited the scenes they depict. These, with the neatly engraved titles and borders and the handsome dignity of the volumes,

will always make an appeal to lovers of fine books, even those who are but indifferently concerned with texts so laboriously gathered and so fortunately preserved therein.

A rival collection to De Bry's is that of Levinus Hulsius, who began in 1598, and whose series in twenty-six parts was concluded in 1650 by his widow and successors. Hulsius published only in German, and as his volumes were of quarto size, more convenient than those of De Bry, they attained a wider popularity. They are consequently even rarer than the others, though they have nothing like the same bibliographical appeal. It is also generally conceded that Hulsius exercised better judgment in the selection and translation than did his contemporary. The large portion dealing with the Dutch voyages is particularly complete and valuable. A description of the Hulsius series in its various editions may be found in the Church and John Carter Brown catalogues and in Mr. Wilberforce Eames' *Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library*.

English historians were as slow as English discoverers in getting under way. During the sixty years following the Discovery, while Spaniards, Italians, French and Portuguese were issuing frequent bulletins on the subject of America, England's historians were even more inactive than her ex-

plorers. Save for an insignificant tract printed at Antwerp in 1510 (and the Barclay translation of the *Ship of Fools*, whose American interest is slight) of which only the British Museum's copy and a fragment in the Huntington collection now survive, no English publication has come down to us of a date earlier than 1553, when Richard Eden, the "pioneer of British geographical research," issued *A Treatyse of the Newe India*, which was a mere translation from the Latin of the fifth book of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography*. The original of this book was a popular universal cosmography of small modern value or interest, and served merely to introduce Eden's name to the British public.

His next attempt was on a larger scale, its result the first collection of Voyages in the English language. *The Decades of the Newe World*, London 1555, while composed chiefly of the first three decades of Peter Martyr, contains as well the *De Nuper Sub D. Carolo Repertis Insulis* of that author, the Bull of Demarcation of Alexander VI in both Latin and English, and parts of other famous documents; there is also included an account of two expeditions to New Guinea in 1553-54, which are the first English voyages in print. Eden's *Decades* is a direct forerunner of Hakluyt and did much to stimulate English maritime effort. Four

issues of this work exist, each with the same title-page, but with a different colophon. The last to be sold realized \$1,300. Another version of Eden's *Decades*, with much added matter, was published in 1577 under the editorship of Richard Willes and the title of *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*.

The half-century following Eden's first edition was, as we have seen, one of unprecedented activity on the part of his countrymen, the time when Hawkins, Drake, Davis, Frobisher, Raleigh and their kind were beginning the epoch which was to make their little island the heart of a world-empire. During this time there lived and worked a man who, though he never set foot in the Western world, did perhaps more than any other to make it English and to have his name associated with it forever. That man was Richard Hakluyt, clergyman, teacher, geographer, author, editor and statesman.

Any account of Hakluyt's manifold activities on behalf of America would, in justice, require a large volume all to itself. Strangely, no such volume has ever been written; there is a little book, recently published in the *Pioneers of Progress* series, whose hundred pages contain the nucleus of such a study, but it is the only one of which I know. Hakluyt's name has remained hidden in encyclopædias while every historian of English America acknowledges

on almost his every page his profound debt to the compiler of the *Principal Navigations*.

One might not wonder at this had Hakluyt been only a man of letters, a class of persons on the whole dull and uninteresting, and more often than not properly interred in, or even with, their works. But he was much more. To him more than to almost any other man was due the support, moral and financial, given his enterprising contemporaries; he held and created a faith in England's destiny beyond the sea and upheld it in the face of repeated discouragement. To his foresight was due the policy of colonization which distinguished the efforts of England from that of her competitors and resulted in a measure of success infinitely beyond theirs. His influence extended far beyond the confines of his own land or time, and De Bry's *Voyages* is but one of the works which owe their inspiration to his kindly and energetic influence. Says Luke Fox in his quaint way, "Therefore now I feell the want of Mr. Hackluit, and so I doubt will others in time to come. . . ."

Hakluyt was no dull official chronicler nor publishers' journalistic hack. Early in life he became fascinated by the current romances of the sea, and before his thirtieth year had definitely dedicated himself to the double task of gathering all available material pertaining to the voyages of his own day

and the past, and to urging his country to its proper part in the voyages to come. He regarded himself as a sort of secretary of English Naval History, and so in fact he became.

Hakluyt's first book, a small collection known as *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*, was published at London in 1582. In it appears for the first time the Patent granted by King Henry VII to John Cabot and his sons, and the Verrazano voyage, making it the first book in English to refer to any part of what is now the United States. *The Divers Voyages* is the rarest of all Hakluyt's items, only about ten copies being known, of which nearly all lack the two maps which should be included. One can only guess at the worth of a perfect copy; the De Puy copy, lacking one of the maps, brought \$5,000 in 1920.

Hakluyt accompanied Sir Edward Stafford, the English minister, to Paris as Chaplain, and remained there for five years, 1583-1588. During that time he edited a new edition of Peter Martyr's *Eight Decades*, which appeared at Paris in 1587, and made his translation of *Four Voyages Made by Certain French Captains Into Florida* in 1587, neither of which are in the main current of his works and need not detain us here.

He returned to England shortly after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and in the follow-

ing year brought out the first edition of the almost epic work by which he is best known to posterity. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land. . . . Within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeeres . . .* is a huge folio, whose contents are divided into three parts, the last having to do exclusively with America. In most copies the Drake voyage around the world, which should follow page 643, is missing, for the reason before given, namely that Hakluyt, as he himself explains in his address to the Reader, had it printed privately in order "not to anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charges in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have yeelded unto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedings, to those intended discourses." The act was characteristic of him.

For ten years Hakluyt continued work on the *Principall Navigations*, searching for fresh script, interviewing, editing, revising. His conscientious industry is illustrated by the story of his two-hundred-mile ride to seek out the only living survivor of a Labrador expedition of 1536. Finally during the years 1598-1600 came out the great edition of the *Principal Navigations*, in three folio volumes, the third devoted solely to American voyages. It

is impossible here to compare the variations of the two editions. It is enough to say that in those ten years the editor had tapped every source available to him, had studied his material as no man had done before him and achieved a masterpiece, which despite many criticisms leveled at its various parts, put the name of Richard Hakluyt beyond those of all other men who had ever written of voyages and discoveries. The most intransigent critic must acknowledge how hopeless his survey of the early history of the United States would be had Hakluyt's enthusiasm and perseverance not held fast to documents whose survival would otherwise have been very dubious.

Probably the most interesting single feature of the 1598-1600 edition is the so-called Wright-Molyneux map, reproduced herewith. Hakluyt had planned to employ this map, or another by the same Emeric Molyneux, in the previous edition, but apparently it was not ready in time, and he contented himself with the already published Ortelius map, which was later used by others. The Molyneux map (some writers ascribe it to one Edward Wright, a contemporary cosmographer, hence to avoid dispute it is often called by the hyphenated name) is one of the most famous in the world; it was called by the historian Hallam "the best map of the sixteenth century" and was referred to by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night*, "He does smile his face into more



Wright-Molyneux Map, Western Hemisphere.

lines than are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies." A comparison of this world-picture with that of Waldseemüller gives an impressive idea of the progress the sixteenth century made in its uncovering of the unknown spaces of the earth.

The variations between copies of the 1598-1600 edition are considerable. The Wright-Molyneux map, of which only about fifteen copies exist, is the chief factor in determining market value. A good ordinary copy, three volumes complete, may be had for about \$250; more than ten times as much has been paid for copies with the map, the record being reached in 1911, when the Hoe copy brought \$3,400.

Despite Hakluyt's tremendous influence among historians, statesmen, navigators and merchants of his own day, he could not have been a "popular" writer. The issue of his works in elaborate form indicates that. He is to-day more collected than read, I venture to say, but that he is read, and enthusiastically, by numbers of young men, I can also testify from personal knowledge. Between scholars who value him for his labors, and readers who love him for the glorious scope of the adventures he introduces them to, his fame is not likely ever to be forgotten; nor apparently has it been by certain of the inhabitants of the sea town where he spent much of his active life. The following is the tablet to his memory in the Cathedral at Bristol:

AMERICANA
RICHARD HAKLUYT

Born 1552.

Died 1616.

To the Glory and pious memory of
Richard Hakluyt, A.M., Queen's Scholar of
Westminster School; Student of Christ Church, Oxford;
sometime Archdeacon of Westminster, and for
thirty years Prebendary of this Cathedral Church,
MDLXXXVI-MDCXVI (1586-1616),
who by his historical Collections, earned the
Gratitude both of his Country, and of this ancient Port
His studious Imagination
discovered new Paths for geographical Science
and his patriotic Labours rescued from Oblivion
not a few of those who went down to the Sea in Ships,
to be harbingers of Empire, descrying new Lands
and finding larger Room for their Race.

"The ardent Love of my country devoured all Difficulties."

Shortly before Hakluyt's death, Samuel Purchas, another clergyman, took up the task of completing and expanding his work. Purchas' original publication, the *Pilgrimage*, appeared in 1613, a second edition in 1614, and a third in 1617. In this book he gives his own version of the voyages he includes. On the death of Hakluyt, however, he inherited the vast mass of manuscripts the great editor had left, and proceeded to put them into a form similar to his predecessor's, that is, using the language of the narrator's rather than his own. The result was the monumental *Hakluytus Posthumus*, or *Purchas*,

His Pilgrimes as it is better known, which was completed in 1625. Of these five folio volumes part of the third and all of the fourth pertain to America; the fifth is a new edition of the *Pilgrimages*. Though Purchas greatly added to Hakluyt's material, quoting from over twelve hundred narrations as against Hakluyt's two hundred, he was inferior to his predecessor both as a judge of material and as an editor of texts. There are a number of variations between the first and second issue of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, which have been discussed in Sabin and elsewhere. A good set, with the proper maps and all points, is worth about \$1,000.

The general historians included in this chapter are by no means the only ones of the early period, nor even in all cases the most important ones, perhaps. They are, however, more frequently utilized by the historians and their books more eagerly sought by the collectors than any others one might name. If the reader cares to investigate further he will find that many men were moved to write elaborate world-histories and succeeded only in adding to the large and mournful catacombs of dead books. Most of them were mere plagiarists, wittingly or otherwise. Some of their works contain a new fact, a few an amusing or original idea. Where they write from a bias, they make some entertaining comments. Of this sort is a book which struck me only because it is usually listed at the beginning of

catalogues on account of its author's name, Abbot (George), as it appears in the volumes of which I speak. This author, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote, from the comfortable seclusion of one of his many palaces, a *Briefe Description of the Whole World*, wherein he enunciates some curious conclusions about America, as, for instance, that "the Indians had amongst them no good or wholesome food, for even that *Maiz*, whereof they made their bread, had in the root thereof *a most venomous kind of liquor*, which is no better than deadly poyson." There are many histories of this sort, and one could amuse himself worse, and at greater expense, than in locating them. Most of them are quite inexpensive—as are, comparatively speaking, good old editions of the serious histories and compilations if one does not insist on Molyneux maps and De Bry Hariots.

CHAPTER VI

VIRGINIA



BEFORE the year 1556 only two books relating to America had been published in England and both of these were by the same author, Richard Eden; neither was a strictly original work. During the sixty years following, an almost countless number of books, tracts, pamphlets and broadsides issued from the press on this subject—I have before me now a list of one hundred authors, great and small, who published works on America in that period. These are of many sorts, original relations by explorers, propaganda for funds or for colonists, poems and plays, inspired in whole or part by events beyond the Atlantic. In addition there is a multitude of material which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. A great many of these documents were collected by Mr. Alexander Brown in his *Genesis of the United States*—a valuable study, lightened now and again by the gleams of the erudite editor's fierce prejudices.

Britain's interest in America rose because her

wisest men appreciated the great advantage the Spaniards were gaining toward the now inevitable conflict. Spain now realized that she had found more in the New World than an inexhaustible reservoir for her treasury—she could hedge against the future by planting a potentially unconquerable Catholic Empire beyond the seas.

These wise men of Elizabethan England deemed any extension of Spanish rule or wealth unthinkable; to the entire populace the very idea of Catholic expansion was anathema. Very rapidly the idea spread that the most deadly blow that could be dealt both Rome and Aragon was to check any further rise of the latter in America. If justification were necessary there was the insurmountable argument that Cabot had preceded Columbus to North America—as for Alexander's Bull of Demarcation, Henry VIII had rendered it null and void. Hawkins and Drake sailed off to annoy the Spaniard with a complaisant public behind them.

The upbuilding of the first colony, as every one knows, was a long and discouraging process. Before a foothold was firmly established on the James River a number of attempts had ended in failure. The short span of years between 1584 and 1607, when England grimly held on in the face of repeated disaster, was one of the critical epochs in her entire history, for those years largely determined her future position as a world-empire.

There can be little dispute as to the assignment of the leading rôle in this epic drama. Sir Walter Raleigh, talented and handsome courtier, gallant soldier, poet and adventurer, is the most satisfactory hero that England has ever contributed to American history. He took the chief part in urging, planning, financing and carrying out the first colonial expedition; although he failed, largely through lack of experience and judgment on his own part and that of his colleagues, he stimulated a continuous effort which never ceased until his own frustrated hopes had been realized by others. And the very manner and greatness of his failure, coupled with the unjust and capricious doom that fell upon him, raise him almost, if not quite, to the great tragic level.

Raleigh came not only from the county which predominated in noted explorers, Devon, but from a family which had already contributed several famous names to military and naval annals. His half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was a distinguished member of that company of aristocratic rovers of the North Atlantic, which swallowed him and his ship in 1583. Though his own achievements as a navigator were small Sir Humphrey succeeded indirectly in aiding his kinsman's cause. His little book, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, published in 1576, is generally credited with having added considerable im-

pulse to English exploration. It remained in manuscript for several years until the poet George Gascoigne effected its publication.

Raleigh sent out his first expedition, consisting of two vessels, under Philip Amados and Arthur Barlowe, in 1584; its purpose was the exploration of the coast north of Florida with the view of selecting a site for a permanent colony. This expedition returned within the year, bringing so glowing a report of the prospects of the country that the Queen and Raleigh were raised to the highest enthusiasm; the former gave to the entire territory the name Virginia and to her favorite the title of its Governor.

The following spring Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's cousin, sailed with the first colonists; accompanying him was Ralph Lane, who had been designated as resident governor, and other persons destined to be notable, including Cavendish and Hariot. Selecting Roanoke Island as the site of the colony, Grenville deposited his hundred householders, and went back to England in August, with the promise to return with further men and provisions by the following Easter. The capable Lane and his followers proceeded on what was soon seen to be a hopeless task. Grenville had made enemies of the Indians, who withdrew to the interior, making the problem of subsistence difficult. The site chosen was unfortunate, as Lane soon saw, and he was

forced to divide his men into bands for simple foraging instead of carrying out the explorations he and his principals had planned. When finally Drake, fresh from his Spanish exploits, anchored near Roanoke Island and offered to transport them back to England, they accepted, although extremely reluctant to give up their colony. However, they were justified by this time in despairing either of Grenville's reappearance or of immediate relief from Raleigh. They returned in July 1586.

Among the things that Drake carried back to Plymouth was material for one of the most remarkable books in the entire category of Americana. That book, published at London in 1588, is *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. The author was Thomas Hariot, who was a member of the first colony from beginning to end, and a famous mathematician, to whom Descartes was profoundly indebted for his algebraic discoveries. Hariot's *Virginia*, as it is commonly known, is only a small tract of twenty-four leaves, but the amount of information he managed to compress in them is astonishing. His style is clear and concise and his eye for detail masterly. As Henry Stevens, the well-known bookseller-bibliographer says, "This book of Hariot with Laudonnière's *Florida* . . . affords at this day more authentic materials for the early history of the Atlantic coast of North America, from the River of May to the Chesapeake, than

any other portion of the New World, Spanish or English, can boast."

The first edition of 1588 is one of the ultimate desiderata of the collectors. Only seven copies are known, I believe, and five of these are in public libraries. America possesses three (those in the New York Public Library and in the Huntington and Clements collections). The Huth copy (now the Clements) was sold to Quaritch for £1,290 in 1913, but I doubt if a similar copy could now be had at twice that sum.

The *Virginia* was reprinted, as I have stated elsewhere, by De Bry as the first part of his *Grands Voyages*, the only part of that work in English. The Frankfort editor's reprint was a beautiful production. He himself engraved the twenty-three drawings which appear in the volume, as he had Lemoine's illustrations for Laudonnière, and the striking title page. The drawings were the work of John White, an artist who also was a member of Lane's colony, and faithfully depicted the inhabitants, products, flora, fauna, etc., of the strange new land. White's original water colors, of which De Bry only used about a third, are preserved in the British Museum.

I have up to this point refrained from expressing a covetous desire for any of the books of which I have spoken; but I state here that were I privileged to own any single item of Americana which I might

choose, I should without much hesitation select the copy of Hariot's 1588 edition which Hakluyt gave to Theodore De Bry, and from which the latter made his own sumptuous edition.

The story of the further failures, of Grenville's lost fifteen, of White's futile efforts, during the early part of which was born the first English child in the New World, Virginia Dare, and at the end of which he was forced to abandon his daughter and grandchild, are best told in Hakluyt. The fate of this last colony was not known until many years afterwards when the Jamestown settlers learned of the massacre of most of its members. These various failures may all be attributed to the same causes, namely, the inexperience of the colonists and the distracting influences of the Spanish wars, which made it impossible to concentrate on a continuous policy for the care and protection of the settlements until they could sustain themselves.

Meantime Raleigh, whose original enthusiasm for his colonial ideas had never abated, was prevented by various causes from coming over himself. He was greatly needed at home, where the Queen leaned heavily on his skill and judgment in the wars with the Spaniards while for more personal reasons she apparently opposed his exposing himself to unfamiliar dangers. Eventually these objections were removed; the Spaniards were conquered, and Elizabeth's personal favor, decreasing after his mar-

riage with the lovely Miss Throgmorton in 1592, she finally allowed him to depart in 1595 on a hunt for gold in Guiana—he had by now been convinced that Virginia could not hope to rival the Spanish possessions in mineral wealth.

The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empyre of Guiana (London, 1596) is the story of Sir Walter's search for El Dorado. It reads like a fairy-tale, and in large part is one, but this is not to impugn the author's veracity, as he was completely misled by the Münchhausen yarns of the Spaniards and Indians, and the deductions drawn from the richness of the country. What he saw with his own eyes he relates truthfully, according to the testimony of others who covered the same ground. A companion volume to Raleigh's, published in the same year, is *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* by Lawrence Keymis, whom he sent out immediately after his return to continue the exploration of the Orinoco. This voyage was Raleigh's last direct effort to found a colony. His interest remained as great as ever, but his fortune, large as it was, proved inadequate to the strain put upon it. Moreover, he was shortly to fall under the disfavor which clouded the end of his brilliant life. With the accession of James I his star quickly fell. Sentenced to the Tower on a trumped-up charge of treason, he was released after thirteen years, in 1616, to make a last futile voyage to Trinidad with his son

and Keymis. The expedition ended in the younger Raleigh's death and in Keymis' suicide. Raleigh returned to London to be re-arrested and eventually executed on the old charge in 1618. The King employed his most celebrated lawyer, Francis Bacon, to asperse the character of the dead knight and the Lord Chancellor responded with the infamous *A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh*, to which his sovereign made copious additions; but the joint plea has fallen very flat indeed before the bar of posterity.

Before we go on with the Jamestown settlement, which was the principal fruit of Raleigh's activities, I might add that a further colonizing expedition to Guiana, the scene of Raleigh's personal failures, was made in 1605, and resulted in the publication of a curious and very little-known book, *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes*, by John Nicholl (London, 1607). The author was a member of a band of sixty-seven Englishmen who attempted the establishment of this colony; they were shipwrecked, rescued by the Spaniards, and Nicholl was imprisoned as a spy—he finally escaped to England and set himself to this doleful relation of his adventures and tribulations.

After half a century of inactivity and another like period of sporadic effort and failure, England made good her claim to Cabot's heritage on May 13, 1607, by planting a colony fifty miles from the mouth of

the James River. A number of forceful characters were numbered among the "councilors," as the first governing body of this colony, appointed by the Corporation in England who financed the venture, was known. Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president, Bartholomew Gosnold, a famous name in the annals of both Virginia and Massachusetts, Christopher Newport and John Ratcliffe was each in his way an unusual man. But beyond them all in natural endowment and the qualities that captivate posterity was John Smith, the first historian of Virginia and one of the most remarkable personalities that ever combined the profession of arms and letters.

Fame has been peculiarly fickle in regard to Smith. He knew both glory and disrepute in his own day, and since then he has been in turn, and even simultaneously, lauded as America's first great statesman and denounced as her most outrageous rogue and liar. He came into Virginia under the cloud of a suspected mutiny, and left it, disliked and discredited, to answer charges brought against him in England. Yet there can be no doubt of the importance of his services, of his ability to deal with emergencies and his incomparable superiority to his companions in all the qualities of leadership. As a writer, though greatly popular in his own day, he provoked numerous attacks against his veracity, which have in fact swelled in volume since; never-

theless his history of the colony was used almost exclusively for two centuries, and even to-day there would be desert areas in our knowledge without him. One may grant that he lied; that he exalted himself and cast unjust reflections on others; that his own gain and glory were his paramount considerations, yet it is hard to see how one can allow himself such unrestrained depreciations as have many recent students of his career. There are his undoubted abilities to back part of his personal claims, and though other chroniclers in many places confute him, they also uphold him in others. And very few of the author-adventurers of his time came as near as Smith to the creation of literature. Even his romantic prevarications frequently have that merit, at least.

Smith's long and varied career as an author began with *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Happened in Virginia Since the First Planting . . . etc.*, which constitutes the earliest printed account of the Jamestown settlement, from April, 1607, to June, 1608. It was written by Smith in the form of a letter to a friend in England, who caused it to be printed in 1608. The work was issued with four different title-pages, the first stating merely that it was written by a Gentleman of the said Colony, the second that Thomas Watson was the author, while the third and fourth state that he was "Captaine Smith" and "Captaine

Smith coronell of the said Collony" respectively. A note to the reader in the latter editions apologize for the attribution to Watson, which may have been a printer's error. I have heard of a fifth variation, but have never seen one. Very few sales of this rare black-letter pamphlet have ever taken place—the A. T. White copy brought \$4,850 in 1920.

Among the more conspicuous incidents given in the *True Relation* are the hanging of Captain John Kendall, one of the original councilors, for plotting treason against the colony and of Smith's own capture by and escape from Powhatan. In this account Smith omitted the Pocahontas incident, which he recorded in a later book, and stored up trouble for himself amongst his critics as a consequence—the omission certainly seems to relegate the intervention of the Indian princess to the class of pleasant myths.

Smith's next work was *A Map of Virginia With a Description of the Country*, etc.; it was printed in 1612, and with an Oxford instead of the usual London imprint. The reason for this procedure was the fact that the book did not suit the purposes of the Virginia Company, which was able, by means of its interlocking members of the Stationer's Company, to prevent its license; influential persons, such as Crashaw and Purchas, undertook to have it done by the inactive religious press of the smaller city, and it is as a result often referred to as the *Oxford Tract*.

The content is divided into two parts—the first is Smith's description of the topography, products, climate and aborigines of Virginia; the second contains a chronicle of the Colony until 1612, by W.S. (William Symonds). By far the most interesting feature of the pamphlet is the map which gives it its title. This map is one of Smith's most important contributions to cartography, although it has been said that he merely copied it from previous charts by Gosnold, Waymouth and others. Eight states of it are known, the first one lacking Smith's coat of arms or motto in the lower right-hand corner, the dates under the scale and the portrait of Powhatan; as the map unfolds the North is to the right and West on top. All eight states have been carefully separated by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, and the results of his research may be found in the Church or John Carter Brown catalogues.

The entire content of the *Map of Virginia* was introduced by Smith, with changes and additions, into his *General History*, and Purchas used it in an abridged form. The original edition is not particularly expensive without the map, but with it has brought over \$1,000.

As we know, Smith departed from Virginia in 1609 never to return. In 1614 he was sent out by the Plymouth Company to explore the New England coast, and to hunt for whales and gold. He followed the coastline from Cape Cod to Penobscot and re-

turned with no considerable results. It was through this voyage that he gained the title of Admiral of New England, which he ever after employed.

The literary fruit of the voyage was the *Description of New England*, which was written while Smith was a prisoner of some French pirates, and published in 1616. This pamphlet is one of its author's favorite works, and has generally been exempted from the violent attacks his other productions have sustained. It is an unpretentious, yet roughly quite accurate, description of the salient features of what he saw on his hasty visit. He considers also the possible advantages offered by New England to adventurers, a theme he reworked in 1620 in an almost unknown eight-page tract, *New England's Trials*. Among other distinctions the title page of the *Description* is the first ever to bear the name "New England" which had previously been known simply as North Virginia. Smith describes it as "that part of America in the Ocean sea opposite to Noua Albyon (California): discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the worlde."

The accompanying map has been called by Justin Winsor "the earliest thoroughly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay," and I find few dissenting voices on this verdict; even in Smith's own time its quality was widely recognized. It was dedicated to Prince Charles (later Charles I) with the request

that he change the barbarous native names to good English ones, which His Royal Highness obligingly did. Both old and new names are preserved. The plate was re-engraved at least eight times, and copied by Hulsius and others. Only one perfect copy of the first state is known. The distinguishing points may be found in the same catalogues which I cited in connection with the map of Virginia. With the map in desirable state the *Description* is an expensive item—the Huntington duplicate copy was sold for about \$4,000 in 1917, and I daresay that there are even more valuable ones about. Without the map, or with a facsimile of it, the little tract is worth only about one-tenth of the above price.

In 1624 Smith completed a project he had had in mind a long time since, the inclusion of his previous writings, revised and expanded, into one volume known as the *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*. This, his *chef-d'œuvre*, contains the materials whereby he is to be judged as man and historian. Excepting only his first work, the *True Relation*, of which the substance is repeated in the *Map of Virginia*, he includes everything he had personally written, and of his own knowledge could testify to, concerning what is now the United States. The book, to my mind, is of such paramount importance, one of the half-a-dozen principal ornaments of Americana, that I

shall dwell at greater length than usual both on its content and its bibliographical features.

The author begins at the beginning, and on the earliest voyages is judiciously non-committal. "For the stories of Arthur, Malgo and Brandon that say a thousand years ago they were in the North of *America*, or the Fryer of Linn that by his blacke Art went to the North Pole in the year 1360, in that I know them not let that suffice. . . ." He declines to pass an opinion on the 1170 voyage of Madoc of Wales, and goes on to say, "The span-yards say Harmo, a Prince of Carthage, was the first, and the next Christopher *Cullumbus*, a Genoesian whom they sent to discover the unknown parts in 1492. But we find by records *Cullumbus* offered his service in the year 1488, to King *Henry* the seaventh, and by accident undertook it for the Span-yards." There is then repeated the Hakluytian version of the Cabots, exalting them in the interests of England, and the story is rapidly carried forward to 1584; the events of English colonization are then recorded intensively up to the year 1624, when the book was published.

The faults and virtues of the *Generall History* may be stated concisely as exaggeration, invention, praise of self and dispraise of others on the one hand, keen personal observation, humor, imagination and a rare faculty of writing on the other. The case against has been stated most ably, com-

pletely and implacably by Alexander Brown in his *Genesis of the United States*. To him Smith is substantially a liar and a rogue, and he adduces in evidence the fact that Smith interpolated into the book published in 1624 for the first time the story of his rescue by Pocahontas, which he had not mentioned in the account of 1608, so much nearer to the event; furthermore contemporary writers, especially Hamor, who makes so much of Pocahontas, omits the incident altogether. One cannot but agree with Mr. Brown's inference that the story is an embellishment conceived by Smith years later. Nevertheless, though it casts a shadow on Smith's historical accuracy, no one can deny that it is a most excellent anecdote. It may be found in Book III, Chapter 2, told better than any paraphraser has told it since.

The case for the *Generall History* has been ably put by a number of capable critics, chief among them Edward Arber, editor of the best edition ever made of the whole of Smith's works, a two-volume edition which appeared in 1884. This distinguished scholar achieves a notable defense of his subject's honesty and veracity, and seems to have put him for a long time, if not forever, above the kind of detraction he has suffered. The literary side of the matter has been well put by Professor Tyler in his classic *History of American Literature*. "As a writer his merits are really great—clearness, force, vividness, picturesque and dramatic energy, a style

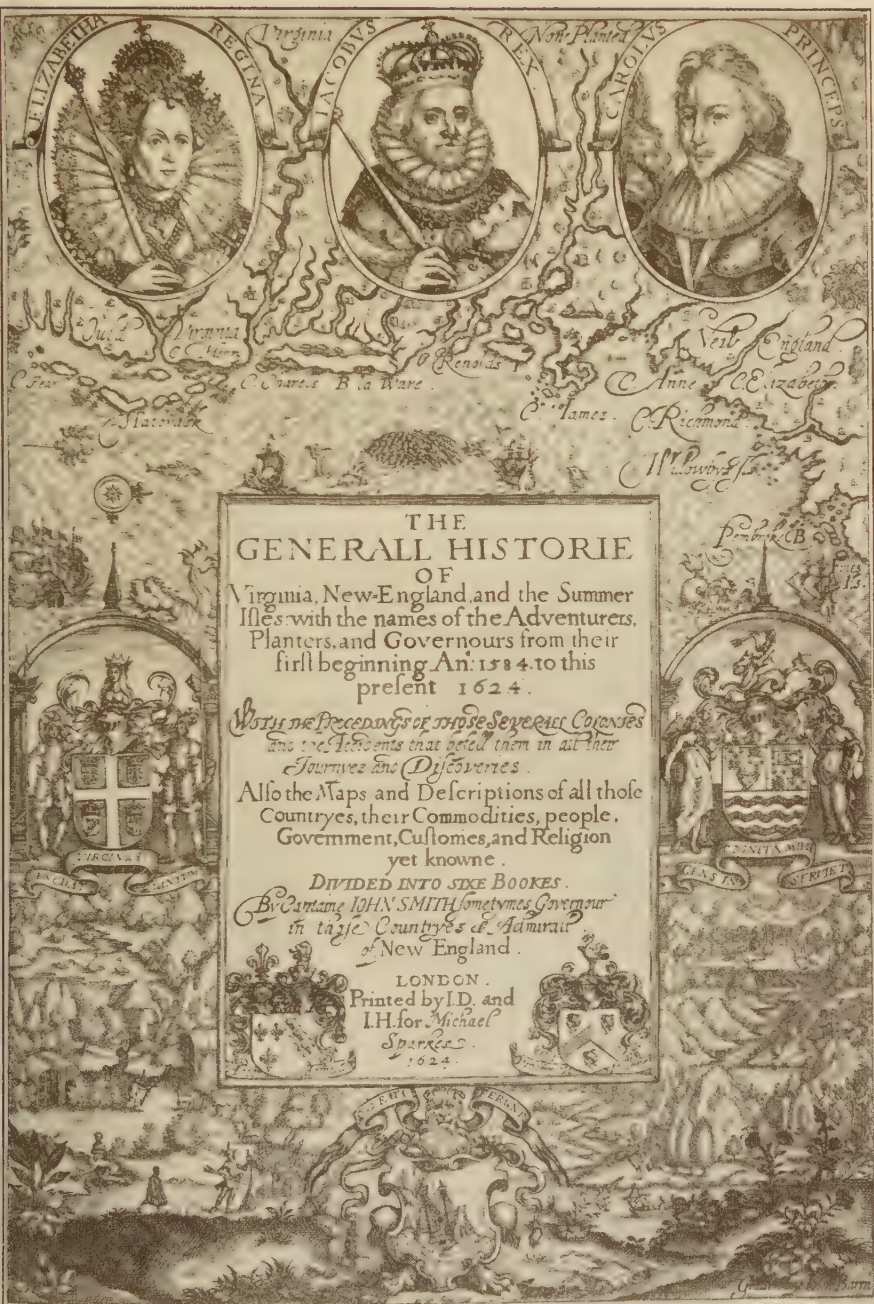
racy and crisp. He had the faults of an impulsive, irascible, egotistic and imaginative nature, he sometimes bought human praise at too high a price; but he had great abilities in word and deed; his nature was upon the whole generous and noble; and during the first two decades of the seventeenth century he did more than any other Englishman to make an American nation and an American literature possible." I fear that Professor Tyler was a little too kind to Smith as a man, but the estimate of his literary powers is, I think, even less than just. In comparison with the dull recitals of facts and figures supplied by less inspired, if less questionable authors, how refreshing it is to be told, for instance, in connection with the provision of funds for the colony, "I received aid as penuriously as if I were trying to found a University" an illuminating sentence whose point, I dare say, will never be lost on the perspicacious reader.

The original edition of the *Generall History*, though undoubtedly an expensive book, was so popular that re-issues appeared in 1625, 1626, 1627 and 1632. The catalogue of the Huth sale gives as its number 6915 another issue, that of 1631, which Mr. De Ricci says is now in the John Carter Brown Library, but the recently issued catalogue of the Library omits any reference to it. The 1625 issue is also in the nature of a curiosity, being the only one with a printed title-page (all the others are en-

graved); only two copies of this variation are known, one in the Huntington Library, the other recently sold privately. There are no changes in the text, signature or pagination of these various issues, and it is to be presumed that the printers merely struck off a new title-page, with the date altered, to be bound with the sheets ordered by the booksellers who in turn controlled the publication.

Four folding maps, those of Ould Virginia and Virginia (the 1612 map) the Summer IIs and New England (from the 1616 *Description*) were bound in various states with the various issues. Most existing copies lack one or more of them. The four were selected haphazardly, the printer or binder apparently helping himself to whatever state of each was available, hence no rule can be laid down for a perfect copy, as various copies not identical can be so described. In addition the choicest specimens contain engraved portraits of the Duchess of Richmond, to whom the volume was dedicated, and of Pocahontas—these portraits are rarely found, however, with the first or 1624 edition, and when found greatly enlarge that particular copy's value. Probably the finest copy ever sold was the Brinley, with the arms of James I and the Duchess of Richmond; it brought \$1,800 in 1879, but would be worth much more now; ordinary examples, in good condition, lacking the portraits, are worth perhaps five hundred dollars.

The title-page of the *Generall History* is a praiseworthy attempt to spare the reader the necessity of perusing its contents. The title itself embraces only a small rectangle in the lower central portion of the page, but suffices amply, in 94 words and several abbreviations, to convey a synopsis of the work, which is as much as can reasonably be expected. The engraved border aims to illustrate not only the topography of the new land, but also its foliage, inhabitants and navy as well, blocking itself off into segments by means of various prominent coats-of-arms. Surmounting all are the unsmiling representations of Elizabeth, James I and Prince Charles, each set in an oval and all but the last-named wearing a crown. That article was subsequently placed on Charles' head, however, in editions appearing after he became entitled to wear it; the plate was also altered to correspond with the alteration of his features with the passing years; by 1632 he is made to seem a very old man, strangely matured from the youthful figure of eight years before. The artist apparently did not like James, as a study of his likeness will prove; still I cannot think that the pedantic son of Mary Stuart could have been as ugly as all that. Had he been, I am confident that his people would never have tolerated all of his other shortcomings, and would have removed him from his throne, thus happily saving the more presentable Charles his head.



Title-page of Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie*.

In the sixth book of the *Generall History* Smith makes a contribution to the annals of the Plymouth Colony's annals, and in the *Advertisements* already mentioned another. These will be referred to in their proper places. Of his other surviving works, none can be classified under Americana. The chief are his *Accidence . . . Necessary for All Young Seamen*, 1627, and the enlargement of it, published the following year under the title of *A Sea Grammar*. The versatile Smith, an army officer, thus was responsible for the first printed book on seamanship, naval gunnery and nautical terms, as Arber points out. Another little tract of six pages, in the John Carter Brown Library, which describes a naval exploit against Spain, similarly falls outside our subject. The *True Travells, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, a biography which appeared in 1630, is not, as some have hinted, by himself; the substance of it had appeared in Purchas five years before. It is a highly imaginative account of his life, not improbably influenced by Shakespeare's *Othello*, although the adventures credited to Smith make the tales the fair Desdemona heard seem very mild in comparison. Smith died a year after the appearance of the *True Travells*, and for nearly three hundred years successive biographers have gone on trying to prove what every one knew in 1631—that he couldn't possibly have done

all of the things his first biographer said he did.

Further accounts of Virginia multiplied rapidly; most of them were pure propaganda for the colony's support. The year 1609 saw four pamphlets printed, all of them now very rare. They include a *Sermon* delivered at Whitechapel by William Symonds, Smith's collaborator in the *Map of Virginia*, an anonymous tract, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia*, and *A Good Speed to Virginia*, the earliest statement I have ever read in print of "the White Man's Burden." It says in part "The report goeth, that in Virginia the people are savage and incredibly rude, they worship the divell, offer their young children in sacrifice unto him, wander up and downe like beasts, having no Art, science nor trade, to employ themselves unto, yet by nature loving and gentle and desirous to embrace a better condition. Oh how happy were the man which could reduce this people from brutishness to civiltie, to religion, to Christianitie, to the saving of their souls. . . . Farre be it from the hearts of the English, they should give any cause to the world to say that they sought the wealth of that country, above or before the glorie of God, and the propagation of his Kingdome." The author (Robert Gray) then goes on to refute any objections that might be raised, on moral grounds, against invading the Indians' lands. Gray regrets in his dedication that he is unable, either in

purse or person, to partake in the business; the realists who actually did so were no more influenced by his considerations than most Europeans have been in fulfilling the Caucasian's exalted function.

The year 1610 saw another batch of these little reports and advertisements. One of them, *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purposes and Ends of the Plantation*, etc., was an appeal by the managers of the Virginia Company to the public for further support; it naïvely interprets the unrelieved series of disasters which had thus far occurred as acts of God which He was offering as a sort of guaranty for a prosperous future. The appendix gives a list of persons required in the Plantation, heading it with *Foure honest and learned Ministers*; the rest of the list contains chiefly various kinds of artisans. Another curious item of the same year is Crashaw's *Sermon* of February 21, 1609, on Lord Delaware's departure for Virginia, which survives only in two copies, I think. Most of these early rarities are official publications, hence are limited in their value to the historian because of their bias, and inaccessible to the collector because they were cheaply made and probably thrown away like hand-bills. I shall merely mention in the rest of this chapter the two or three surviving books whose authors or content are of especial interest.

The most important report of 1611 was probably the *Relation* of Lord Delaware, who, forsaking his

high position at home, had migrated to become the first Governor and Captain-General of the Colony. Smith and Symonds' *Oxford Tract*, of 1612, has already been mentioned, and in the same year the Company issued the second part of *Nova Britannia*, called *The New Life of Virginia*. The history of the Colony is carried forward to 1613 by Alexander Whitaker, who went to Virginia in 1611, and became preacher to the parish at Henrico, so named after the gifted eldest son of James I, Henry, who died while Prince of Wales. Whitaker officiated at the first Anglo-American wedding, that of Pocahontas with John Rolfe; his "Narration of the present state . . . of our colonies" is entitled *Good Newes From Virginia*. The most authentic and certainly the best known early account of the christening and marriage of Pocahontas is contained in *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* by Ralph Hamor (London, 1615), a former secretary of the Colony. Hamor's book brings the story down to June 18, 1614; its primary object was, like most of the others, to draw so optimistic a picture of the state of affairs in Virginia as to induce people to venture money, their personal coöperation, or both, in the Colony. A letter from John Rolfe, included at the end, gives his reasons for marrying the Indian princess "for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the

true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbelieving creature, namely Pokahuntas." The amplitude of Virginia genealogy would indicate that their union subserved the fulfilment of one Biblical injunction as thoroughly as did another famous colonial match, that of Priscilla and John Alden.

I regret exceedingly that space prevents fuller treatment of these curious little tracts. Besides the light they cast on the events and habits of the plantation, they are full of amusing incident, ingenuous comment and delightful character revelation. If this book serves no other purpose than to send those interested to these sources, I shall feel that it has been of some use. The original editions are, of course, excessively rare, being in many cases extant in only two or three copies—the *Hamor Discourse* alone has an auction record, as far as I know, and it is scarce enough to bring \$1,000; but the libraries will usually have reprints or facsimiles made from surviving copies.

Two other sources of information should be mentioned in connection with early Virginia, manuscripts and references in early plays. Of the former the chief are probably the *Discourse of Virginia* by Edward Maria Wingfield, which put forward the first president of the council's side in the early disputes (Wingfield was later deposed by Smith) and a *Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Brittainia* by William Strachey, from which it has been fancifully

conjectured that Shakespeare drew his plot for *The Tempest*. Both manuscripts were printed in the last century; Wingfield's was discovered in connection with another and more famous one, to be referred to later.

The literary references are far too numerous to list. I might cite Drayton's *Ode to Virginia* as one example, and a long poem by R. Rich, printed at London in 1610 in honor of Captain Gates' safe return from the celebrated voyage and wreck in the Island of Devils (the Bermudas) as another. This letter also contains propaganda for the colonies; among its lines are such as:

To such as to Virginia,
Do purpose to prepare
And when that they shall hither gone
Each man shall have his share.

Day wages for the labourer;
And for his more content
A house and garden plot shall have. . . .

The ballad is inferior, but the promises are excellent. The contemporary plays are full of allusions to the current fever for overseas exploration. The first of these which I have remarked is from Act I, scene 3 of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there
Some to discover islands far away.

The play most thoroughly saturated with this interest is certainly *Eastward Hoe*, the joint work of George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston, which we know to have been presented before James I in 1614. Seagull, one of the characters, describes Virginia as a paradise where the cooking utensils themselves were of gold, the children's Sunday clothes decked with diamonds and rubies and where there is "no more law than conscience, and not too much of eyther." The character of Sir Petronell Flash, which tradition says was one of Shakespeare's rôles, is the father of a long line of illustrious Virginia colonels.

It is a difficult matter to decide where the annals of Virginia cease to be Americana, in the strict sense, and become more strictly Virginiana. So many items in the state's personal history are part of the nation's also. Even her genealogies are important to workers in the very broadest fields of American history. But it is undoubtedly true that after the founding of the Plymouth Colony the center of interest shifts to Massachusetts Bay, and for a long time remains there. During most of the seventeenth century it was the place of greatest activity and intellectual ferment, and produced a preponderance of the literature which we are considering. The older colony did not remain inactive, as any of her histories will show; it was one of her Governors who sent out the German, John Lederer,

in 1669, to discover the Pacific, as a result of which appeared the extraordinary *Discoverie . . . In Three Several Marches* (London, 1672). This book advances the theory, based on investigation, that the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific was certainly more than eight or ten days' journey, contrary to popular belief; the author admits nevertheless that the Western ocean may stretch an arm as far east as some point in the Appalachian range! So we take leave of Virginia till her great day comes again with the Revolution.

CHAPTER VII

NEW ENGLAND



THE first colony in North Virginia, or New England, was not, as every one knows, the result of a long series of ventures. It is true that the Northern coasts were explored several times before the Puritans made their landing in Cape Cod; in fact these very explorations deterred potential settlers, as the bleakness contrasted unfavorably with the more promising resources of the Southern territory. Even the Pilgrims, before setting out from Holland on their momentous journey, seriously considered going to Guiana, being attracted by Raleigh's glowing account of that country. Only fear of the Spaniards resolved them to turn North to regions where the English flag was dominant.

In a previous chapter I have outlined the trend of exploration which sent British sailors up and down the coast of Norumbega (the vague district which is now the coast of New England and Southern Canada); none of them, it was noted, was bent on permanence; in fact the country they encoun-

tered interested them so little that they regarded it as an obstacle to their true purpose. Not until the seventeenth century was any great attention paid, at least by the English, to what was one day to become the head and front of all of their extra-insular concerns. The leading names, outside of the already familiar ones of Raleigh and John Smith, in this new era were those of Bartholomew Gosnold, George Waymouth and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the first two navigators, the last a patron of vast conception and generosity.

The rôles of the three may be briefly told. Gosnold, without color of authority, set out on an expedition in March 1602 to see what he could find. He roamed around Cape Cod and established a temporary settlement on what is now Cuttyhunk Island, the first English colony in New England and the second in America. Returning in July, he ran into Raleigh, the patentee upon whose preserves he had been poaching, and had his cargo, chiefly of sassafras, confiscated. His backers suffered more than he, as he gained the good graces of Raleigh, and was taken into his employ. We saw that he went on the Jamestown expedition. Gosnold's voyage was recorded by John Brereton, one of his companions, in *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia*, printed at London in 1602.

Three years later Captain George Waymouth

sailed on the voyage that was to be immortally paired with Gosnold's. During it he visited Nantucket and sailed up the Kennebec River. Although he planted no colony, Weymouth's expedition was far-reaching in its results on New England's future, since it stimulated a group of influential men in London to a series of further efforts—Weymouth also led the way for Luke Fox. The narrative of his voyage is contained in *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made This Present Yeere 1605*, whose author, James Rosier, had accompanied Gosnold and later Weymouth. Both Brereton and Rosier, from motives of policy, no doubt, give too favorable a picture of what they saw; nevertheless from every point of view they are among the greatest treasures of Americana and have been known among generations of readers and collectors by Henry Stevens' appellation, *The Verie two eyes of New-England Historie*.

The activities of Gorges, though of great importance in the history of New England's colonization (he was its patentee, and later Proprietor of Maine, whose first settlement he underwrote) do not strictly fall within the scope of this study. He was indeed one of the foremost of colonial Patrons, and spent huge sums in the development of his enterprises, but his writings were not extensive and the one volume connected with his name, *The Briefe Narration*, etc., was actually the work of Edward John-

son—apparently the printer of Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Saviour*, having a quantity of sheets of the latter left over when he came to publish, in 1658, *America Painted to the Life*, a compilation of papers by Gorges' grandson and namesake, bound them in under a new title-page bearing Sir Ferdinando's name. The younger Gorges disclaimed the attribution in a newspaper advertisement. The John Carter Brown Library also contains *The Relation of a Voyage Into New England*, which is an account of Captain Popham's voyage in 1607, based on papers left by Gorges—this catalogue lists this booklet under the year 1607, by what evidence I do not know. It would seem more likely to belong to a period after Gorges' death. I regret not to be able to spend more time over the Father of New England Colonization, but the small and unreadable products of his pen do not seem to warrant it in this connection.

The voyage of Popham, in 1607, brother of the Chief Justice who was Gorges' associate and Captain Raleigh Gilbert is told in Purchas as well as in the Gorges tract above mentioned. We can also find in Purchas the 1606 voyage of Captain Chalmers, who was captured by the Spaniards, and of Hanham and Pring. Captain Hanham returned with what Gorges calls "the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came into my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of

any I have met withal to this present." Hanham's account of this voyage is lost; we know of its existence through Purchas. Next in order came Smith, who thereafter belongs more to New England than to Virginia, and after him a host of minor people. Their efforts were to bear fruit later; but in the meantime a fierce controversy sprang up in England over fishing and trading rights between two sections of the Plymouth Company, and the Pilgrims, weary of their expatriate existence at Leyden, slipped in and achieved what princes, merchants and navigators had unsuccessfully attempted, a permanent English plantation in North Virginia.

Massachusetts is by far the richest of our older States in her historical chronicles. Her public and private archives can boast a wealth of printed and manuscript material far beyond that of any other State, and the student of her history is faced by a problem of elimination as great as the problem of research which faces the student of so many other periods. This preëminence is due to a variety of factors, the two most obvious of which are perhaps the temperament and learning of her early leaders and her priority in establishing a press. Far more than those of Virginia and the other early settlements her annals are indigenous both in their writings and their printing. Virginia did have a press very early, but it soon disappeared.

First and foremost of all her distinguished early

historians is William Bradford, who succeeded John Carver as governor after the latter's brief tenure. His *History of the Plymouth Plantation* is the basic document of the Pilgrim settlement, a splendid piece of historical literature, written by a man conscious of a historical philosophy on the one hand, and with a sense of writing and form on the other. We may now question Bradford's theistic conception of man's development and destiny in this world, but we cannot deny that the work is all the better for having so characteristic a philosophy; furthermore the actual description of events, of the struggle between the two theories of religion and of profit in the up-building of the colony, is fully realistic. There exist a facsimile and a reprint of this celebrated document, the latter a publication of the State of Massachusetts.

The *History* remained in manuscript until the last century. We know it to have been in America before the Revolution, by references to it in Mather, Prince and others. Apparently it was taken from Boston by the British soldiers and removed to London, where it disappeared for a long time. In 1844 a History of the Protestant Episcopal Church was published which contained references to the Bradford *History* and in 1848 a history of the Colonial Church mentioned it. Not until 1855, however, were these allusions recognized by American scholars. It was then found that the precious manu-

script belonged to the Bishop of London, and was kept at Fulham Palace, his London residence, where the Wingfield *Discourse* was also found. For many years efforts were made to obtain it, but without success, since the Bishop, though well disposed, was powerless to dispose of diocese property. Eventually an Act of Parliament eliminated the difficulty, and the manuscript was delivered with due ceremony into the custody of the State of Massachusetts; it is now kept at the State House in Boston.

The first published account of the founding of the Plymouth Colony was *A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation*, etc., ordinarily known as *Mourt's Relation*. It contains a journal of events from September 20 to December 11, 1621. No one knows exactly who George Mourt, the alleged editor, was, and it is universally assumed that the *Relation* was the joint work of Bradford and his colleague, Edward Winslow. John Smith includes in the sixth book of his *Generall History* a résumé of *Mourt's Relation*; his *New England's Trials* of 1622 contains additional information, and his last and in many ways his best production, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England, or Anywhere*, carries on the history of the plantation to 1630—it was printed the following year.

A number of other early pamphlets of the period may be reckoned among the key-books of Ameri-

cana. Among them may be numbered the famous sermon preached by Dr. Robert Cushman at Plymouth, December 9, 1621, perhaps the first sermon delivered in New England; with it was printed a preface "shewing the state of the Country, and conditions of the Savages" in 1622. Of the same year is the official publication of the Council for New England, *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*.

Winslow, probably the most cultivated of the first Pilgrim settlers, returned to England in 1623, and the following spring published his *Good Newes From New England*, a mine of information on the voyage of the *Mayflower*, the first settlement, relations with the Indians, etc., as well as being the first book to recount the exploits of the doughty Miles Standish. All of these first pamphlets are extraordinarily hard to find, and if one chances on a good copy of any of them, he may account himself lucky indeed; a useful hint may be added to the effect that most of these bear the imprint of "I.D." or John Haviland for John Bellamie or William Bladen—the last two appear together on the *Winslow Relation*. There is probably an interesting field for research back of these early Pilgrim imprints. A number of them have been reprinted by Dr. Deane and others, and many of them have been gathered by Mr. Edward Arber into his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, 1897).

Various early publications exist concerning the small settlements which sprang up before the Winthrop immigration of 1630—notably *New England's Plantation* by Francis Higginson, a minister who chronicled the events of 1629 and died the following year, when his book ran through three editions; the *Planter's Plea* of the same year, an answer to critics of colonial policy by John White, another divine, and Smith's *Advertisements* which devotes two chapters to the settlement of Salem and Charlestown. The events of those years have been more fully related elsewhere, in formal histories and official publications, but these scarce booklets came closest to the events—Smith's two chapters are based on hearsay, of course, but they are reliable. In addition he devotes a portion of his pamphlet to a description of the misfortunes of the colony during the few months after Winthrop's arrival.

The long series of bickerings in England between the various sections of the old Plymouth Company came to an end with the establishment of the Massachusetts Company as a local self-governing body with a governor residing among his constituents. The first governor, Mathew Cradock, resigned rather than leave England, and was succeeded by the able John Winthrop, who, in addition to his solid administrative achievements, left an invaluable record of the events between his arrival and his death in 1649.

There is a close parallel between Winthrop's *Journal* and Bradford's *History*. Each was the work of the principal man in the colony whose history he relates; each was a gifted statesman and a capable fair-minded observer; and neither lived to see his work, invaluable though it was, put into print during his lifetime. In Winthrop's case it is all the more surprising, inasmuch as the manuscript was never lost and its descent can be traced until finally the lexicographer, Noah Webster, a descendant of the author, had the first two parts of it printed in 1790. The *Journal* differs from Bradford's production in that it is not a conscious history, although Winthrop styled it *The History of New England*, but a diary, a straightforward record of events. As such, no words can describe its importance. The beginning of printing in the United States, for instance, which will be dealt with in a future chapter, would be shrouded in even more than its present uncertainty, did we not have Winthrop's always trustworthy narrative before us. Its faults are those of an individual, unable to attain a complete perspective in his own time; its great merit that the highest possible standard of honesty cannot find it wanting. Only its style prevents it, perhaps, from the popular rank it deserves.

The first detailed account of Massachusetts, so far as then settled, appeared in 1634. Its author, William Wood, was out of the main current of poli-

tics and interested himself chiefly in the topography, flora and fauna of the country. The second part of it deals with the Indians "their persons, cloathings, diet, natures, customs, lawes, mariages, worships, conjurations, warres, games, huntings, fishings, sports, language, death and burials." It contains at the end five pages of an Indian dictionary, the very first compiled, a task later to be carried on by John Eliot and Roger Williams, who, as a then resident of Salem, is said to have assisted Wood. *New England's Prospect* is much better reading than most of its contemporaries, which often combine execrable English with abominable printing, to the dismay of the reader. The last copy to be sold, Mr. A. T. White's, brought \$2,800—most of the items mentioned in the last few pages have hovered between \$2,000 and \$3,000 in recent years, a fact which would certainly have caused writers of thirty and forty years ago to reconsider their statements that "such-and-such a piece is now fetching an exaggerated price—Mr. So-and-so, the bookseller, prices one at three figures."

Rather different from its contemporaries is *New English Canaan*, a curious book with a curious history. Its author, Thomas Morton, came over to New England to enjoy himself in a manner more suited to the reign of Charles II than to that of his father, and speedily found himself superlatively unpopular amidst his Puritan neighbors. His home at

Merrymount was a rendezvous for unregenerate spirits from the otherwise hostile Puritan and Pilgrim settlements. A proclamation, still extant, was issued against him. He was twice deported, and finally, realizing that he was not wanted, attempted to get even with his Puritan enemies by writing this satire. Though of no great pretensions as a history, the author's sense of humor makes it distinctly amusing, and it is prized as a sort of freak among the sober early chronicles of the colony. It was printed at Amsterdam in 1637, although originally entered in the Stationer's Register at London by Charles Greene in 1633. A copy actually exists in the library of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in London, with the imprint of Greene, but with no date; probably the registration was effected considerably in advance of the book's publication, and it may well have been that friends of the colony were powerful enough to prevent its licensing or circulation in London. Mr. Winship thinks that the Amsterdam imprint may have been altogether a blind, which seems very plausible.

I fear I am using the word "first" too often and to my reader's confusion. What I actually am trying to point out here are actually "first" sources on various features of New England, but it may be that I have not made it altogether clear in what sense each of these books precedes all others.

Mourt's Relation, then, was the first book to appear in print relative to the Plymouth Colony, Higginson's *New England's Plantation* on the adjacent settlements, Wood's tract on the environment with which the settlers had to contend, etc. It must be remembered that Bradford and Winthrop's great works were neither "first" nor "early-printed." The title, therefore, the "first New England History to appear in print" falls to the *Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Saviours* which was originally issued separately in 1657, but was later included in Gorges' *America Painted to the Life*. Johnson covers much the same ground as Winthrop, bringing the story down to 1651, but he can in no way be compared to the latter, whose broad, judicial mind is a complete contrast to the other's narrow, partisan Puritanism—nor is Johnson as reliable as Winthrop, and his style is diffuse and rambling. The *Wonder Working Providence*, etc., is not the actual title of the book; it is called on the title page a *History of New England* (which is erroneous, as it limits itself to Massachusetts), but it was registered under the other name, which is preserved in the headlines. It was, of course, the author who chose the more theological title, while his publisher naturally preferred one more likely to sell the book. The publication is anonymous, although there is now no doubt that it was done by Johnson, a selectman of the township of Woburn.

The succeeding histories of New England are outside our province. *New England's Memorial* by Nathaniel Morton, a nephew of Bradford, is chiefly interesting as being the first historical work printed in America—its information is secondhand, for the most part, and largely to be found in his uncle's or Winslow's works. Other early histories of interest which attract the collector's fancy are by Cotton Mather, of whom more anon; by Thomas Prince, an early bibliophile, who became so engrossed with the creation and the history of the world before the founding of Massachusetts that he died before he could complete but a small fraction of what he started out to write about; and finally, there is the really fine large *History* by Governor Hutchinson, whose script was scattered in the streets of Boston by a riotous pre-Revolutionary mob. It is a constant and insidious temptation to talk about the fascinating variety of books that lie just outside the rigid boundaries I have fixed for this study, and I must retreat before I find myself in the twentieth century.

I have already suggested that there is a wide diversity between the type of literature produced in Virginia and Massachusetts—generally speaking, and with an ample allowance for exceptions, one might say that the historians of the earlier colony were by nature and profession adventurers, those of the later are bookish men by temper and training.

A very considerable portion of the leaders among the Puritans felt a habitual urge to express themselves on paper, and as the very essence of the Puritan being was religious controversy, a large part of their early writings consisted of theological polemics. Even where no debatable question arose, where the matter to be recorded was a straightforward report, this ingrained manner of thinking gave to their productions a distinct religious cast.

One can in a general way separate these brochures into groups—the Winslow, the Cotton-Williams, the Eliot, the Mather, etc. Many, of course, fall outside these classifications, but on the whole they not only define the entire type, but contain in themselves the material for a fairly complete picture of the times and of Puritan manners and character.

Probably the most valuable, and certainly the most interesting of these groups, is the series of eleven tracts by John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians. Eliot spent a long life of earnest labor among the Indians in the effort to convert them to Christianity. He learned their language and taught them his, incidentally compiling an *Indian Grammer* which was the first book of its kind to be printed in America, and stands only next to Roger Williams' *A Key Into the Indian Language* (1643) in point of time (Wood's five pages hardly being a serious work). He was one of the three men responsible for the

Bay Psalm Book, and alone carried through the translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue. These labors will be further considered in our chapter on Early American Printing.

The series we are here concerned with is known as *The Eliot Indian Tracts*. They consist of eleven little quartos, the first dated 1643, the last 1671, printed at London, most of them at the direction of the Corporation for the "Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," to whom Eliot and several co-workers addressed these reports of the progress of their mission. Although they were intended primarily to enlighten the Corporation as to the work for which it was providing funds, they contain an abundance of general contemporary information, even to the extent of preserving the content of other documents which have perished.

Of such a nature is the first of the series *New England's First Fruits*, which tells of the founding of Harvard College, as well as the earliest attempts at Indian conversion. The second part, dealing with Harvard College, tells of its "faire and comely Edifice," of its library, its rules and schedules of study, and the requirements for its Bachelor's degree "Every scholar, that on prooffe is found able to read the Originalls of the Old and New Testament in to the Latine tongue, and to resolve them Logically; withall being of godly life and conversation;

And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers and Master of the College, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree."

The title of some of these tracts are so amusing that I cannot refrain from repeating some of them:

"The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England (1647)."

"The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England (1648)."

"The Light appearing more and more towards a perfect Day (1651)."

Very few collectors have succeeded in acquiring first editions of all of the eleven *Tracts*; George Brinley, most indefatigable of all Americana collectors, did so, but I believe that none of the great modern private collectors have them all. By far the rarest are the last two, those of 1660 and 1671, which usually stand in the way of the completion of series. There are a number of amusing stories connected with their original publication, including one which Mr. George Parker Winship tells to explain the differences between number 10 and those immediately before and after it. Mr. Winship's theory is that Macock, the printer of this number, wrested the contract away from the regular printer by underbidding her, but recouped himself for the

difference by squeezing as many lines as he possibly could on a page, thus saving for himself a quantity of the paper supplied by the Corporation; paper was much the most expensive factor in the book-manufacture of the day. The publishers apparently became disgusted with this form of graft, and did not return to Macock for further work.

Always associated with the *Indian Tracts* is William Castell's *A Petition . . . for the Propagating of the Gospel in America*, etc., which first suggested the beneficial policy of winning over the Indians to the English side by friendly conversion; it was partly responsible for the parliamentary Act of 1643 which, in naming Robert Earl of Warwick Governor-in-Chief of all the plantations in America, enjoined him above all to consider "chiefly the advancement of the Gospell of Christ" among the Indians. The *Petition*, which was printed in 1641, was reissued in 1644, bound with the Act of Parliament it occasioned.

What I have called the Winslow group is the smallest one, though the name might be extended to cover the early period of pamphleteering which he dominated, some of whose products I have already included. His appointment as representative of the colony in the controversy about Church Government which raged in 1646-47 brought forth at least two contributions. The first of these arguments (one of an endless number) was precipitated

by Samuel Gorton, who was a believer in decentralized Church government. The colony had a short way with dissenters, and Gorton raised a clamor in England, publishing his grievances and charges in *Simplicities Defense* in 1646. Winslow replied on behalf of the colony in what is now the scarcest of his pamphlets, *Hypocrisie Unmasked* to the " manifold slanders and abominable falsehoods" of Gorton, and was promptly attacked from another quarter by *New England's Jonah Cast Up at London* (1647), which he promptly answered in *New England's Salamander Discovered*; two years later, just before his death, he fired his parting shot at Gorton in *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civill State*. Whatever merit there was in the controversy one must concede to Winslow's opponents, but one must admire Massachusetts' choice of counsel—despots have been worse served by their legates than was this tyrannical little democracy. *Hypocrisie Unmasked* has, by the way, a good account of the Pilgrim life at Leyden and of the embarkation for the New World.

One pair of pamphlets does not quite fall into any of the groupings I have made above, but they are of such noteworthy character that they must be fitted in somehow. Both are of the year 1644, and deal with the most poignant tragedy of Puritan intolerance, the banishment of the Antinomian prophetess, Anne Hutchinson. The details of the contro-

versy are too lengthy to be gone into, but in essence it concerned the determined effort of the Winthrop colony to maintain its theocratic form of government. Anne's followers were persecuted more as revolutionists than as heretics, and she with her family were sent into the wilderness to be massacred by the Indians. The tone of the pamphlet is a striking commentary on Puritan mentality; the author, Thomas Welde, pastor of the Roxbury Church, positively gloats over the fate of the wretched dissenters, and adduces from it a direct intervention from the Almighty to punish heresy and to gratify the Saints of Boston. The two books are respectively *Antinomians . . . Condemned by the Synod of Elders*, which reports the proceedings of Anne's trial before the general Court and *A Short Story of the Rise . . . of the Antinomians*, in which John Winthrop is supposed to have had a hand.

The Puritan attitude may be further examined in the remarkable controversy between John Cotton and Roger Williams. Cotton was beyond all question the leading divine of early Massachusetts, the foremost authority on and spokesman for the interpretation of God's word. Of Williams one is too easily tempted to speak at great length—his eulogists and detractors are as vigorous and uncompromising to-day as they were nearly three hundred years ago; my own opinion is that he was one of the noblest characters of his time. He disbelieved

Spiritual
M I L K
FOR
BOSTON BABES
In either **ENGLAND.**

Drawn out of the
Breasts of both *TESTAMENTS*
for their souls now *perishing*.

But may be of like use to any
Children.

By **JOHN COTTON, B. D.**
late Teacher in the Church of
Boston in New-England.

C A M B R I D G
Printed by S. G. for *Hezekiah Usher*
in Boston in New-England
5 6.

in a state church; his temperament was such as to impel him into argument for his faith, and his intellect, although unstable, so keen that he was sure to make things uncomfortable for his opponents. The General Court expelled him in 1635, and later, by a threat of banishing him to England, forced him to flee in a canoe down Narragansett Bay to Newport.

Williams went to England in 1643 to obtain a charter for his colony. While there began his immortal debate with the Boston Church's first pastor. A prisoner in Newgate, wishing to write *Against Persecution in Cause of Conscience*, was provided for the purpose with paper smuggled in by his friends as stoppers of the milk-bottles. After publication the leaflet was sent to Cotton as best being able to uphold the negative of the views it urged. Williams printed both tract and reply in 1644, styling the latter *The Bloudy Tenent*, on the ground that the humane treatise written in milk was answered by a fierce counter-theory which in comparison was written in blood. Cotton took up the challenge in the *Bloudy Tenent, Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb* (1647) in which he urged yet more strongly the right of the state to suppress persons distasteful to the church. Williams' answer took the name *The Bloody Tenant Yet More Bloody* (1652) which concluded this particular passage of arms—there are other replies,

however, including a letter by Cotton defending the Court's action in expelling Williams.

The Bloody Tenent trio are well out of the pamphlet class, being stout volumes of several hundred pages each. Their effect was very nearly to ruin the reputation of Cotton. Williams, though meeting his fury with mildness, out-argued and out-manœuvered him, until he found himself in a morass of absurdities. He was driven to defending, for instance, the ludicrous contention that, although the use of force by dissenters was a crime since their beliefs were wrong, it was perfectly justifiable of the upholders of the true religion to do so, since they were right. Cotton's reputation never completely recovered. On the other hand, of William's first answer Professor Tyler has said in his *History of American Literature*, "[it is] a book of strong, limpid, and passionate argument, glorious for its intuitions of the world's coming wisdom, and in its very title flinging out defiantly a challenge to all comers. . . . In the very year in which this book was published, in London, John Milton likewise gave to the public, in the same place, his majestic plea for soul-liberty, *Areopagitica*, but even Milton's vision of this sublime truth had not then acquired the breadth and clearness with which it was revealed to Roger Williams." A Christian, a scholar and a gentleman, the founder of Rhode Island managed, despite these handicaps, to stand off the powerful

politicians of establishment, to beat their best man at argument, and to reduce them to impotent rage by fairly forcing in England the unpleasant question of how far they might be dictators in an English dependency.

It would be tedious in the extreme to list the ever-growing number of religious pamphlets after 1650; John Cotton alone is responsible for forty or fifty which have survived, and his fellow-preachers, Hooker and Shephard, for an additional quantity. The Quaker persecution brought down an avalanche of such writings, which, though they contain collectively a pathetic and vivid story, with their beatings, banishments and hangings, are insufficient individually to warrant detailed description. The title of the tracts are often amusing or touching (*The Heart of New-England rent at the Blasphemies of the present generation; A Declaration of the sad and great persecution and martyrdom of the people of God called Quakers*, etc., etc.). The names of George Fox, Edmund Burroughs and John Norton stand out on the Quaker side—Norton was not of the sect, but a staunch defender nevertheless.

Nor did the pamphlets pour out from the religious reservoir alone. Half-a-dozen or so exceptional ones have survived relating to the Indian Wars, perhaps an equal number relating to Indian captivities. Besides these there are lesser ones of every description, and we have references to others of

which not a single copy is now extant—yet altogether those we know of must have been but a small fraction of those that were printed and disappeared without a trace. The British entry into Boston in 1775 alone, with the resulting disorder, must have wiped out the last survivors of many curious editions. I can only hope to indicate in the vaguest way, with no detail, without even a general outline, what sort of books are held in esteem by our libraries and collectors.

The best account of the Pequot War, which ended in 1637, was not printed until 1736, when the Rev. Thomas Prince undertook the publication of *A Briefe History of the Pequot War* which had been left by Major John Mason, commander of Connecticut's troops. There are, however, contemporary accounts, including one by Captain Underhill, Mason's associate, called *Newes from America*, and another by Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell*, etc., a very vivid account, although the author was not present; both appeared in London in 1638.

The conflict with the Narragansetts in 1645 was opened by a formal declaration of hostilities. This declaration, giving the colony's justification for the war, ranks among the fifty most prized bits of Americana. We know that five hundred copies of *A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings Betwixt the English and the Narragansetts* were

ordered printed in 1645 "by order of the Commissioners for the United Colonies" and subscribed by "Jo: Winthrop, President, in the name of all the Commissioners." Only four copies have survived; one of them, indorsed in Winthrop's own hand, now belongs to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Henry Stevens, the ubiquitous London book-seller, unearthed another and offered it to both James Lenox and John Carter Brown at ten guineas (about \$50). Both refused it, and George Brinley, a Hartford collector, who had made a fortune as a paper-manufacturer during the civil war, accepted it at that price. Brinley bought everything he could get, with the result that he gathered the largest library of American books ever owned by one man. The dispersal of its thirty thousand books and pamphlets took fifteen years from 1878-1893. When the item in question was sold in 1879, Lenox repented of his former oversight, and bought it for \$215. Forty-two years later, at the dispersal of the Hoe Collection, a similar copy was bought by Mr. Huntington for \$10,000. The high value of the *Declaration* is chiefly due to the fact that it is the first historical document to be printed in the United States.

The most critical of the Indian conflicts, known as King Philip's War, was reported during its progress by a series of five folio bulletins, beginning with *The Present State of New England* (London,

1675) and continuing to *The Warr in New England Visibly Ended*, 1677; together with a series of four folio tracts of the same period they constitute the historian's first sources. There are, however, a number of other contemporary chronicles, among the more prominent being William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles With the Indians in New England* (Boston, 1677) and *Entertaining Passages Relating to King Philip's War* published by Thomas Church in 1716 from notes left by his father, Colonel Benjamin Church, one of the chief soldiers of the conflict. But in the eyes of collectors the most prized relic of King Philip's War will always be *A Briefe History* "of the Warr with the Indians in New England from June 24, 1675, when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians, to August 12th, 1676, when Philip alias Metacomet, the Principal Author and Beginner of the Warr, was slain." This book was long listed among the *introuvables* of American historical literature; known only by hearsay, it was omitted from the standard bibliographies until Mr. Brinley's copy came on the market about fifty years ago. The first edition of 1676 was printed by John Foster, who set up the first press in Boston; an English edition of the same year is commoner.

Before devoting a few paragraphs to the Mathers, who so color most Massachusetts activities during the latter part of the seventeenth century, I should

like to call attention to two scarce books which were written outside the Mather influence. *New England's Rarities Discovered* by John Josselyn is a careful investigation into the flora and fauna of the country, with particular reference to the Indians' remedies for their ills; much interesting native lore is preserved. The other book is Nathaniel Byfield's *An Account of the Late Revolution in New England*, which describes the rebellion against Sir Edmund Andros, whom James II had made governor of the consolidated colonies of New York and New England. The Charter-Oak incident in Hartford resulted from his policy. Byfield tells of the uprising in Boston and the imprisonment of Andros, a momentous event in colonial history. Through the kindness of Dr. Rosenbach I am able to reproduce the rare broadside which constituted the burgesses' first warning to the Governor—it is, in a sense, a miniature Declaration of Independence nearly a century in advance of the momentous one prepared in Philadelphia. Byfield's book is of the same date as the broadside, April, 1689. The Prince Society has gathered and reprinted a mass of *Andros Tracts*.

The name of Mather has been a nightmare to me now for several years. In the course of the preparations for this book I have had at all too frequent intervals stare me in the face the question of how I was to attempt to fit this family into a three-hun-

dred-page volume without doing them or it injustice. I suppose there never has been another such dynasty of scribblers since the world began. Richard, before 1639, thousands of miles from an available printing press, restrained himself to assisting in the translation of the psalms, to a few tracts and many sermons. Increase, the next of the line, begot not only an infinite variety of writings, but a son Cotton, who added an enormous number of shelves to the scant library of indigenous literature. The writings of the various Mathers should justly have a catalogue of their own. It is to Increase and, more particularly, Cotton that I mean to confine myself here—and even so, my scale will be that of a paragraph to some hundreds of books.

Increase Mather was born in 1639, entered Harvard College at twelve and graduated at seventeen. After a year at Trinity College, Dublin, he returned and became Minister of the North Church in Boston when he was twenty-five; he occupied its pulpit for nearly sixty years. From 1685 to 1701 he acted as President of Harvard College, the first native American to fill that position. He also served the Colony as its emissary to England, where he was instrumental in procuring the broad charter under which it was governed from Andros' time until the Revolution.

Most of his long life was spent in reading, writing and quarreling and in each field he distin-

guished himself. His learning was vast, and he displays an incredible familiarity with the less-known literature of the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans—he knew all three languages well. His books and pamphlets, including those to which he contributed prefaces, etc., are listed under nearly two hundred titles, and cover an extraordinary range; most of them are quite rare, but none bring the very highest prices—the history of King Philip’s War is probably the most prized by collectors. Much of his work was done in collaboration with, or at least reference to, his son Cotton, who was the only man in early New England to exceed his father in learning. I chanced on one very amusing joint production in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library, where the largest assortment of their writings is to be found. The book in question contains three sermons by Increase, Cotton and J. Moody, “occasioned by the execution of a man found guilty of *Murder*.” All three were preached apparently on the same day, March 11, 1685-86, and were addressed to the murderer, James Morgan, on the eve of his taking off. The three cover 124 pages, and it is a matter for wonder that the unfortunate wretch was not talked to death before he could ascend the gallows. Increase contributes the gem—pages and pages of introduction precede his passing into the subject proper. He takes the act of murder, considers it in all its phases, rubs it, polishes

it, places it in its historical setting—Polonius by comparison suggests laconic brevity. Finally he gets to the point, but if the guest of honor was still sufficiently conscious to receive the solace of religion, no noose could have hurt him. Even Cotton seems matter-of-fact after his father's sustained outburst.

On the whole the father is a better writer and less of a bore than the son, but I cannot help feeling that the general acceptance of the latter as the greater man is correct. He had all the worse Puritan faults of pedantry, smugness and lack of humor, but he also possessed in supreme degree their virtue of boundless energy. Everything interested him, not passively, but as his own intensely active concern. He was an intellectual dynamo that seemed to supply its own inexhaustible motive power. The grandson of John Cotton as well as the son of Increase Mather, he could hardly avoid pouring these energies into the channels they took. Brought up in an atmosphere of learning and theological subtlety, a prodigy from birth (he graduated from Harvard at fifteen!) it is not surprising that he became the best known man of his time.

One has but to scrutinize a list of the Cotton Mather titles to realize how his tentacles spread out to every part of the colony's life. Religion, of course, politics, government, education, history, law, domestic relations, and, what has most firmly fastened itself to his name, witchcraft. These titles

often make delicious reading in themselves, attaining at their best the most absurd solemnity and unctuousness of phrase—*The Best Way of Living to Die Daily* is an example. One of the most representative specimens of his style that I know is contained in a set of *Rules for the Society of Negroes*, which he was asked to draw up in 1693, and which still survives as a broadside of that year. It begins, "We the miserable children of *Adam* and Noah, thankfully Admirers and accepting the Free-grace of God, that offers to save us from our miseries, freely resolve, with his Help, to become the Servants of the Glorious LORD." The rules then go on to prescribe rigorous conduct and a most exacting church attendance, but *not*, as the shrewd author pointedly suggests, so frequent an attendance as to cause any embarrassing servant problems in the families to which the negroes belong. The Puritans also valued their comfort.

Mather's most elaborate work is the *Magnalia Christi Americana* or Ecclesiastical History of New England, which was published at London in 1702. It is a large and comprehensive work, overladen with the author's conceits and erudition, but nevertheless of cardinal importance in the story of the times.

The witchcraft superstition, which has so marred Cotton's fame, was imported from England after it had nearly burned itself out there. It had flared

up under James I, affected a generation and died down, leaving a large part of the great Chief Justice Matthew Hall's reputation in its ashes. How far back the Mathers went for their precedents may be judged by their frequent quotations as authority of a scurrilous tract by Thomas Cooper printed in 1617. The suddenness and force of its grip on the Puritan community is astounding, and its literature almost endless.

Cotton Mather's first book on the subject is *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*, printed at Boston, 1689. Like many of his other works, including all pertaining to this subject, it was reissued in England. The content is too astounding for description. That an apparently upright and sincere man should have become the victim of such delusions as those in which he here stakes his veracity is almost incredible. It relates principally to the Goodwin Children, who had been indubitably marked by Satan for his own because they were unable to peruse John Cotton's catechism without falling into convulsions, although quite able to read Quaker and Papist books with no such dire seizures!

Mr. Cole, in the Church catalogue, says that the earliest publication relating to Salem witchcraft was a little pamphlet by Deodat Lawson, which I have not seen, and the second Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*. This latter is not only the most

The Wonders of the Invisible World.

OBSERVATIONS

As well *Historical* as *Theological*, upon the NATURE, the
NUMBER, and the OPERATIONS of the

DEVILS.

Accompany'd with,

- I. Some Accounts of the Grievous Molestations, by DÆMONS and WITCHCRAFTS, which have lately annoy'd the Countrey; and the Trials of some eminent *Malefactors* Executed upon occasion thereof: with several Remarkable *Curiosities* therein occurring.
- II. Some Counsils, Directing a due Improvement of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual & Amazing Range of EVIL SPIRITS, in Our Neighbourhood: &c the methods to prevent the *Wrongs* which those *Evil Angels* may intend against all sorts of people among us; especially in Accusations of the Innocent.
- III. Some Conjectures upon the great EVENTS, likely to befall, the WORLD in General, and NEW-ENGLAND in Particular; as also upon the Advances of the TIME, when we shall see BETTER DAYES.
- IV. A short Narrative of a late Outrage committed by a knot of WITCHES in *Swedenland*, very much Resembling, and so far Explaining, *That* under which our parts of *America* have laboured!
- V. THE DEVIL DISCOVERED: In a Brief Discourse upon those TEMPTATIONS, which are the more Ordinary *Devices* of the Wicked One.

By Cotton Mather.

Boston Printed by Benj. Harris for Sam. Phillips. 1693.

Title-page of Boston edition of Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

notable of all the witchcraft books, but the most precious piece of Matheriana. It was a best-seller in its own day, two Boston and three London editions (of which only the first is complete) following each other rapidly. All are dated 1693, although the originals were probably issued late in 1692—printers of the day did not always date by the calendar year, but took Lady Day (March 25th) instead of January 1st, as the beginning of the year, thus moving an imprint backward from its true year, according to our reckoning. For the first Boston edition as much as \$3,450 has been paid. I reproduce the title-page of this edition, which contains a table of contents—the arrangement is different from that of the London version.

Mather, abetted by his father, and no doubt a little drunk with the excitement of witch-hunting and the preëminence of his position as inquisitor, followed the *Wonders* very shortly with *A Further Account of the Tryals of New England Witches*, which was issued in London the same year with a reprint of Increase's *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits*; in the latter the father strongly upholds the views his son had expressed in the earlier book.

The Mathers rode the crest for a time, but the reaction was to come. The anti-witchcraft papers are neither so numerous nor so ingenious as those they set out to refute, but it was no longer necessary that

they be, since public opinion wearied of hysteria and no great amount of argument was required to prove the error. The two foremost products of the reaction are the fierce retorts of Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, and John Hale's *A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*. Calef's book raised a storm whose reverberations have not yet died down; it gives Mather the lie direct on a matter of their common observation. Mr. T. J. Holmes, in the recent volume of *Bibliographical Essays* published as a tribute to Mr. Eames, gives the details of Calef's fierce quarrel with Mather, and relates how the former surreptitiously included a manuscript by the latter in *More Wonders*. At the time of its composition it was apparently unwise, or even impossible, to attempt to print it in the Colony, and the first edition appeared, after the storm had long subsided, in London in 1700. Increase Mather registered his opinion in no uncertain manner; taking advantage of his position as President of Harvard College, he ordered every copy of it entering that institution to be burnt. Hale's *Enquiry* is more a retrospect and a personal recantation. The author, pastor of Christ Church in Beverley, had taken part in and approved the Salem Witchcraft trials of 1692, but later suffered a change of heart, and recorded it in this final indictment of the weird delusion which had brought so much unhappiness—the imprint is Boston 1702.

Cotton Mather, like the grandfather after whom he was named, saw his fame tarnished before he died, the witchcraft business reflecting on him as the Williams' debate did on the older man. He was subjected to the most slanderous detraction, including insinuations of loose sexual morality, by Calef and other pamphleteers. These charges I believe are groundless. His responsibility in the witchcraft persecutions has been ably discussed, but I think on the whole the verdict has been unfavorable. Charles W. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft* (Boston, 1867), a fascinating book, contains a most convincing arraignment, which several of Mather's biographers have set themselves to rebut. Nevertheless there now seems to be a reaction in his favor.

One last Mather controversy and I must have done with them. It was characteristic of the Puritans that they concerned themselves profoundly with a question which troubled their contemporaries of the South but little—the origin of the red man on this continent. The most arresting thesis is also characteristic—that the red men were the lost ten tribes of Israel. This debate continued during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; its two best known briefs in English are Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America, or Probabilities That the Americans are of that Race* (London, 1650) to which Sir Hamor L'Estrange replied two years later with *Americans No Jewes or Improbabilities that,*

etc. Thorowgood continued the argument in 1660, in another work with the same title as the first, appending an essay by John Eliot, who firmly maintained the lost tribe theory. The debate then languished for a long time, until 1773, when Cotton's son Samuel published *An Attempt to Shew That America Must be Known to the Ancients*. An answer came promptly from New York in the form of a *Diana's Shrines Turned Into Ready Money* by Timothy Prout, which as far as I know ended the matter for good.

The literature of Massachusetts constitutes a singularly large part of that of America, and I have only been able to touch on a small fraction of it here. The tragic stories of Indian captivities require a chapter to themselves unless one were to reduce them to a mere roll-call, and I fear I have already given my readers too many such already. Another long list could be compiled of the early literature of other states which have their roots in the Puritan colony. The predominance of Massachusetts in any general library of Americana is striking, and the reason therefore will be even clearer when we come to consider early printing and the beginnings of American belles-lettres, drama, poetry and fiction.

CHAPTER VIII

NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA



WHILE Spanish, French and English were scrambling for shares in the New World, little Holland was steadily forging ahead as the principal sea-faring nation of the age.

The wars of the sixteenth century, instead of hurting her in this respect, actually helped her, particularly after Spanish aggression against Belgium had driven thousands of the energetic Flemings within her borders. By the early seventeenth century she was carrying half the commerce of Europe in her ships.

This trade was principally with the East Indies, and was organized by the famous Dutch East India Company; however, by the year 1621 a new firm, the Dutch West India Company, had established a small trading post at the Southern tip of Manhattan Island, and from there did a comparatively small but lucrative business in furs. The Hollanders had no talent for, or interest in, colonization. Their genius lay in their power in making the seven seas pay dividends. When, therefore, the English,

as a result of the flux of continental politics, appeared off New Amsterdam in 1664 and demanded its surrender, there was not sufficient garrison to offer a resistance, and the port changed its name to New York (after James Duke of York, the heir-apparent and grantee of the territory) without bloodshed. From that point the history of New York's colonization may truly be said to begin.

However, to those interested in the period of Dutch tenure a number of contemporary books are available. For the early Dutch voyages the collection of Hulsius is most complete, but there are also separate writings by Jan Huygen Van Linschoten, one of Holland's most noted explorers and by Admiral Jacques L'Hermite, who circumnavigated the globe in 1623-26. Several accounts also exist of Henry Hudson, the Englishman who founded the Manhattan settlement for the West India Company, the first that I know of being a collection of voyages by Hessel Gerritsz published at Amsterdam in 1612. The two books generally accepted as most important in the pre-English history of New York are *Breeden-Raedt*, or *Broad Advice to the United Netherlandish Provinces*, published anonymously at Antwerp in 1649, and *Vertoogh Van Nieu-Nederland*, by Adriaen Van der Donck (In's Gravens-Hage, 1650). The former is now generally attributed to Cornelis Melyn; it is more of an argumentative than a descriptive character, but its constant

reference to New Netherlands makes it an important source. Van der Donck was the author of several other works on New Amsterdam, but the *Ver-toogh* is both the first and the best. The author was a leading settler, and was originally impelled to the writing of this book by grievances which he shared in common with his fellow-residents, which neither Peter Stuyvesant, the governor, nor the Company seemed disposed to remedy. The governor in fact confiscated it, and it appeared in a different form than at first written. The *Remonstrance* is the third part of the pamphlet, the previous two dealing with the Indians and the topography of the country, and the events of its history from the beginning to 1649. The Brinley, Lenox and John Carter Brown catalogue lists several other early Dutch publications by de Laet (who involved himself in a quarrel with Hugo Grotius over the origin of the Indians), de Vries, Megapolensis, and others who early came over to the province. Some of these that I have managed to see are delightful little volumes with quaint woodcut views. I have been unable to find a recent auction record of either the *Breeden-Raedt* or the *Ver-toogh*.

The English conquest of New Netherlands was not made altogether in good faith or with a suitable pretext. English traders looked with a jealous eye on the little port so near their own possession, and the necessary reasons followed. One interesting

souvenir of this period is a small quarto, of eight pages only, entitled *The Second Part of the Tragedy of Amboyna*. Amboyna is a small island in the Moluccas where the Dutch had massacred a number of employees of the British East India Company in 1622. The Dutch claimed that the English had been in a conspiracy to take the fort, the latter denying the charge, and asserting that the evidence had been extorted from a Japanese by torture. Whatever the truth, this affair was revived in 1653 by a charge that the Dutch were arousing the Indians to massacre the New England colonists. The charge was denied and apparently truthfully, by the Directors of the West India Company, but English alarm continued until New York was safely theirs. The second part of the *Tragedy of Amboyna*, which contains the English accusation, though widely circulated in its own day, is now known by only three copies.

During the period of Dutch possession an English colony had been growing up around New Amsterdam, until at the time of its transfer it greatly outnumbered the Dutch inhabitants. Among these colonists was Daniel Denton, son of a Presbyterian minister of Hempstead, Long Island, who in 1656 moved to Jamaica (then called Rust-Dorp, or the Quiet Village) and became an important planter of the place. In 1670 he went to London on business and there wrote the first history of New York

in English *A Brief Description of New York Formerly Called New-Netherlands*. It is a tiny book, but packed with interesting information relating to the geography, trade, agriculture, natives and game of the country, as well as sketching in events of which the author had been a witness. He says that "New York is built of Most of Brick and Stone, and covered with red and black Tile, and the Land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing Aspect to the Spectators"—an impression that early prints do not contradict, and paints a most alluring picture of the region round about as a Canaan flowing with milk and honey. No feature of the book is more attractive than the fondness of this traveler for his home, which he cannot describe in any but the most glowing terms, despite his explicit determination not to exaggerate.

The *Brief Description*, which bears the imprint of London, 1670, with no printer's name, has survived in about twenty copies of which only five are considered "perfect." The meaning of "perfection" in relation to an old book varies, but in this instance it signifies, besides the usual complete collation, that the title-page is intact, with the imprint remaining in full; the printer was evidently a bad hand at his business for the page is miserably arranged; the type at the top is so large that the imprint is nearly squeezed off at the bottom, and in most copies has been more or less cut into by successive generations

of binders. What is generally accepted as the finest known copy belongs to Mr. Grenville F. Kane, who bought it for \$2,260 in 1920; it had previously brought \$3,300 at the Hoe sale in 1911.

The first English governor, Robert Nicholls, instituted a rule beneficial to the colony as well as to himself, which soon welded the Dutch and English into a harmonious community. The twists of European diplomacy brought the Lowlands and England once again into war, and resulted in the recapture of New York by the former in 1673. But the Treaty of Westminster restored it in the same year, and the subsequent accession of a Dutch Protestant to the British throne ensured the colony against future internal discord as a result of war between the mother-countries.

Nicholls was succeeded in turn by Francis Lovelace and Edmund Andros, both of whom continued the far-sighted policy of their predecessor. Andros later suffered humiliation, as we know, as a result of the uprising in the New England colonies; but this was after his royal master had changed his own attitude and attempted to consolidate New York and New England under a disagreeable supervision from Whitehall; his deposition tranquilized for a long time the relations of the Crown with the colonists, and brought most of the latter in as England's staunch supporters in the long conflict which was

now to begin between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, for the control of North America.

The crucial question in this conflict was to be the attitude of the Indians, and every effort was made by both parties to enlist the aid of the powerful Iroquois confederacy known as the Five Nations—the Onondagos, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas and Mohawks. A long series of bribes, treaties and skirmishes was to preface the eventual alignment.

One of the best pieces of literature pertaining to the natives of the American continent resulted from these negotiations. With a view to frustrating French efforts to monopolize the fur trade, Cadwalader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, had published in 1727 his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, which is the first history of the stalwart Iroquois tribes. It is a most acute and intelligent piece of work, written with sincerity and candor—Colden points out bluntly how the aborigines had been degraded by their intercourse with the white invaders. The *History of the Five Nations* ranks among the choicest contributions to our Indian literature, along with Laudonnière, Harriot and Champlain; it has an additional value in the eyes of collectors as being the first historical work printed in New York. It was amplified and reprinted in London in 1747. The Map of the Country of the Five Nations, which was made for an-

other book of Colden's, was the first map (1724) to be engraved in the province of New York and is superlatively rare—one was recently priced at \$9,500.

Colden was one of the greatest men of early New York. He was not only a high-minded statesman, but an author of prominence and scientist of international renown. In the last-named capacity he became the friend of Linnæus and of Franklin, and the valued correspondent of other great men in the scientific field. His largest work on the *Principal of Action in Matter* was published in London in 1752, but in 1745 he issued a draft of the first two chapters of it in pamphlet form. The latter is now quite rare, and was so in fact not long after the author's death, as in 1786 we find Jefferson asking a friend to search for it in the bookshops of New York and Philadelphia. Jefferson had sought it in vain in Europe.

Colden was not alone in his scientific interests. His contemporary Franklin was busily engaged in his electrical experiments, and in 1751 there was published in London his results as communicated to Peter Collinson in *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*. Contemporaneous with them was John Winthrop (the third famous man of that name), who was the foremost scientific teacher of his day, and whose works on stellar phenomena and on earthquakes have been called models of scientific

writing. During this time too Jenner's inoculation against small-pox was winning its way to enlightenment after a long struggle against superstition—a fight eventually more successful here than in Jenner's own country.

Although maps and pictures are outside my province, since I have already mentioned the Map of the Country of the Five Nations, I might add that very few printed documents of early New York approach in value several of the contemporary charts and views—of the former the scarcest is the James Lynes' Survey, the first map of the city, which was sold some years ago for \$6,550, and the Burges' view of New York, of which only one perfect and one imperfect copy exist—the former, now belonging to Mr. E. W. C. Arnold, I am told, was recently purchased privately for \$25,000; those interested in this subject will find it exhaustively treated in Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, the last volumes of which I understand are shortly to appear.

I have skipped rapidly over the early histories of New York to the period when that province was the center of greatest ferment—the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Arrived at that point, I must postpone for several chapters a relation of its most significant event, the Zenger trial, since the protagonist of that politico-legal drama was a printer, and I have saved a special place for printers,

else they would be all over this book. Meantime I have passed by three New York items of real consequence.

The first in point of time is *A Two Years' Journal in New York* by Charles Wolley. The author was chaplain to Andros from 1678 until his return to England in 1680, but refrained from putting his *Journal* into print until 1701, when it was issued at London with a modest explanation by the author to the effect that he had waited so long in the hope that a more competent account would be brought out; but not having heard of any, and being at the moment idle, decided that since "I would not do what I ought, I ought to do what I could."

A curious piece of information imparted by Wolley is the fact that during his residence land could be bought at twopence or threepence an acre, a valid deed from the governor included. When we recall that Peter Minuit had bought the entire island from the natives for about twenty-four dollars (about one percent of the present value of the Wolley Journal) only a few years before, we realize that thus early New York real estate had begun to boom.

The second item is *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy Formed . . . for Burning . . . New York*, by Daniel Horsmanden (1744). Horsmanden was Recorder of the City of New York, and he here relates the ghastly sequence of events which took place in 1741-42,

when the negroes were accused of a conspiracy to burn the city. The population, even neighboring colonists, were thrown into a panic, and reacted with a fury which has been called "the darkest blot upon the history of New York." Eighteen negroes were hanged, thirteen were burned and seventy transported; two white persons were also hanged. It is now generally admitted that only few of these were convicted on sufficient evidence, and even they were probably inspired by the unparalleled harshness with which the planters then treated their slaves, who constituted about a sixth of the twelve thousand inhabitants of the city. Horsmanden makes an admirable witness, his gruesome curiosity leading him to observe the minutest actions of the condemned on the gallows and at the stake. The first, or New York edition, and the London edition of 1747 have both long been very rare.

The *History of the Province of New York from the First Discovery to the Year MDCCXXXII* is the first general history of the colony. Its author, William Smith, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1745, was a prominent lawyer who later became chief justice of the province; remaining a Tory throughout the Revolution, he later removed to Canada, where he was appointed to the same position.

His *History*, despite the date in the title, came down to the year 1736, but actually anticipates some

of the occurrences of the French and Indian War which was taking place while he was completing the work—the publication took place in 1757 at London. Smith, however, continued his writing and his manuscript was finally published by the New York Historical Society in 1829-30, under the editorship of his son. The original edition was printed both on small and large paper form. The latter is much the more expensive, the exceptional Hoe copy bringing \$2,300—a very exaggerated price.

We have already noted the treatment of the Quakers by the Puritans; it differed only in degree from what these unhappy followers of George Fox were compelled to suffer in other colonies when they had fled in small groups from the unjust and intolerable persecutions of Restoration England. For several decades they had had their eyes upon the uninhabited tract between the colony of New Cæsaria, or New Jersey, which the Swedes had originally settled on the North and Lord Baltimore's property, Maryland, on the South. Not until 1681, however, were they in a position to acquire this territory, when William Penn, the richest, most aristocratic and most illustrious of their sect, quitted a £16,000 claim against the crown of England with a patent to this stretch of wilderness. Penn's intentions were to be generous, but also to regain his £16,000 from his territory if he possibly could.

The first publication relating to the Penn grant

A DECLARATION

Of the SAD and GREAT
Persecution and Martyrdom

Of the People of God, called
QUAKERS, in NEW-ENGLAND,
for the Worshipping of God.

22 have been Banished upon pain of Death.
03 have been MARTYRED.
03 have had their Right-Ears cut.
01 hath been burned in the Hand with the letter H.
31 Persons have received 650 Stripes.
01 was beat while his Body was like a jelly.
Wherof } Several were beat with Pitched Ropes.
Five Appeals made to England, were denied
by the Rulers of Boston.
One thousand forty four pounds worth of Goods hath
been taken from them (being poor men) for meeting
together in the fear of the Lord, and for keeping the
Commands of Christ.
One now lyeth in Iron-setters, condemned to dye.

A L S O:

Some CONSIDERATIONS, presented to the KING, which is
in Answer to a Petition and Address, which was presented
unto Him by the General Court at Boston: Subscribed by
J. Endicott, the chief Persecutor there; thinking thereby to
cover themselves from the Blood of the Innocent.

Gal. 4. 29. *But as then, he that was born after the flesh, persecuted
him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.*

God hath no respect to *Caia's Sacrifice*, that killed his Brother about Religion.

London, Printed for Robert Wilson, in Martins Le Grand.

Title-page of Edmund Burrough's *Declaration*
(see page 161).

is from the grantee himself, a quarto of six leaves entitled *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*. This brochure was published in England in 1681 before Penn's departure for the province. It contains a preface arguing at length the advantages of the country with a view to encouraging emigration; there is likewise given information for intending emigrants, extracts from the charter, and a description of the country with an outline of the conditions under which it was to be governed. The tract was quickly translated into Dutch and German and circulated among the Friends of those countries.

Penn himself migrated in the following year. After spending nine months in his new domain he wrote *A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders*, his colleagues in London, which is the first piece of Pennsylvania's historical literature written in her territory. It is Penn's personal report of the condition and progress of the colony, of its natural resources and the natives with whom it had to deal. There was appended to the printed version a list of property-holders in Philadelphia, and a plan of the city with numbers to indicate which plot of ground each man owned—two curious documents which not many surviving copies of the book contain.

There are several other pamphlets of these and succeeding years which not only relate events as

they occurred, but preserve the fine, high-minded background of this Quaker settlement. The original draft of the constitution which Penn planned for its government still exists in a printed folio of 1682, *The Frame of the Government* of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc., which is no less remarkable for the broad, tolerant spirit that pervades it than for the completeness with which that spirit was translated into action. In their dealings with settlers of other sects, with their neighbors and with the Indians, Penn held his followers to his own rigorous ideals and even substantial sums offered for trading concessions failed to tempt him. Yet this unworldly colony prospered in no uncertain fashion. Penn's own difficulties were many. While absent on a short leave to England reports were circulated that he had died on his arrival, after repudiating his own faith and professing that of the Roman Church; there still survives a little broadside, of one leaf only, by Philip Ford, contradicting these rumors.

Pennsylvania's first printing press followed its settlement more quickly than that of any other part of America. In 1685 Andrew Bradford, a Quaker, was already at work there and his first book (he had previously issued an almanac) was published in that year, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*. The author, Thomas Budd, was a New Jersey official who removed to Philadel-

phia in about 1684. He was a man of public spirit, an acute observer, and his book takes a high position in any library of either New Jersey or Pennsylvania history. It treats of the country, its products and commodities, and considers the advantages of a public school and a public bank. The title-page states the author's intention of being "easie to be understood by any ordinary Capacity" and in that praiseworthy endeavor he clearly succeeds. We shall revert to *Good Order* in the paragraphs on early Pennsylvania printing.

I have before me now a pile of notes I have made on the earliest publications of the various other colonies—New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, the Carolinas, Georgia, as well as of the territories that became states after the Revolution, such as Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky and others. Nearly every state has historical societies which proudly guard these treasures, and collectors who sally forth to do battle for them in the book-markets of the world. No single volume can, of course, list them all, even in skeleton fashion, as I have done with those of the older and larger states. But those interested will find that most state archives, libraries or historical associations cherish items as interesting, unique and valuable as Smith and Winslow tracts.

CHAPTER IX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



THE path through the eighteenth century is confused and tortuous. During half of it there were a score or more of busy, self-centered communities on the Atlantic seaboard alone, planting, trading, writing, printing, arguing amongst themselves, with their neighbors, or with the mother country. When they pooled their multi-fold energies during the latter half into a common cause the extent and variety of their writings become so great that no adequate consideration of them is possible. No collection of books in the world contains even the principal ones, and a lifetime of research would be necessary to compile an adequate check-list of titles. The bibliographer works under the double handicap always existing in a period of controversy, an enormous output of dovetailed material on the one hand, and a form so ephemeral on the other that entire editions disappear, leaving gaps which no research can fill. I have adverted to this phenomenon before, and shall likely do so again, since it is so frequently encountered in the field of old and rare books.

A new feature enters into Americana with this era, the newspaper which, of obvious importance as source material, has enlisted the activities of many collectors. The first of these journals was the *Boston News Letter*, whose first number appeared in April, 1704. The original printer was Bartholomew Green, of a family celebrated in the annals of American typography. The proprietor, however, was John Campbell, the Boston postmaster, who owned it for eighteen years—until it was purchased by Green. It appeared weekly on Mondays until 1776, when the British took possession of Boston. A file of the *Boston News Letter*, or of any of its early contemporaries, over a period of time is exceedingly difficult to make up and expensive to purchase.

The series of French and Indian wars which broke out vigorously in 1744 first served to bring various of the colonies together, the Northern ones naturally bearing the brunt of this action. The original engagement was indecisive, and although the colonials acquitted themselves to their own great satisfaction, reducing the principal French stronghold of Louisburg, the peace of 1748 which restored the fortress also largely restored the status quo.

The colossal struggle which was finally to drive the French off the continent of North America began in 1755, although the actual declaration of hostilities did not take place until the following year.

The most esteemed memento of the war was issued even before its commencement, however. It is the *Journal of Major George Washington*, who was sent out in 1754 to reconnoiter the territory west of the Alleghenies, to treat with the French and demand the withdrawal of the Indians. The *Journal* contains a very full account of his actions, and was so urgently required by Governor Dinwiddie that, as the youthful officer says, it was printed almost before the last page had time to dry. It is Washington's earliest publication, and so rare that only about six copies are known. The original edition bears the imprint of William Hunter of Williamsburg; another edition appeared in London during the same year, with an additional map. The latter edition was very likely printed from the manuscript which is now preserved in the Public Record Office in London.

Each of many phases of the conflict that followed has its literature—Braddock's debacle in Pennsylvania, Shirley's fruitless Niagara campaign, Wolfe's storming of Quebec, the most romantic event of the war, Johnson's defeat of Dieskau, the progress of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the various Indian atrocities, all had their pamphleteers. Mr. William L. Clements, in the volume describing the splendid collection he has recently turned over to the University of Michigan, states that he alone has accumulated over two hundred such pieces. After the

Treaty of Paris in 1763 the general histories began to come out and continued for some years. *The History of the Late War in North America*, London 1772, by Thomas Mante, an engineer officer, is generally accepted as the best. The *History* gives a careful, fair and accurate account of the causes of the war, describes in detail and with understanding the course and effect of the military operations, and best of all, contains eighteen superb maps and plans—most copies lack their complete complement of the latter. Mante's style is not easy, but he knows the value of a personal adventure amidst the description of battle, dispositions of forces, etc., and his account of Washington's narrow escape from assassination in 1753 at the hands of a treacherous Indian guide is capital reading.

A steady downpour of print fell from the gathering clouds of the Revolution and continued for a dozen years until lead and steel in part took their place. It was a time of excitement, suspicion and quick or sullen resentments. Each act of Parliament or of the Ministers intended to enforce the authority of the mother-country over her refractory offspring called forth instant debate pro and con—these enactments and regulations with their attendant attack and defense constitute the principal Americana of the lull between the Treaty of Paris and the Battle of Lexington

The root of the trouble lay hidden behind a cen-

tury of desuetude, in the Crown's determination to exercise paternal power over its colonies for its own enrichment. As early as the Restoration a number of laws had been passed, based on the broad theory that the colonies existed primarily for the mother-country's aggrandizement. The passing of the Stuwarts with their conception of the kingly prerogative halted these measures for the moment, and although a number of local troubles arose as a result of the highhandedness of the governors on the one hand and the jealous autonomy of the colonies on the other, no general ill-feeling occurred until the revival of the detested Shipping Laws in 1755. From then on a collision was inevitable unless one side or the other backed down.

This neither was likely to do. George III, under the guidance of the Earl of Bute, was by temperament and training unable to conceive either of the rights or the caliber of his opponents, and the latter shared all of his German stubbornness abetted by an unquestioning sense of the righteousness of their cause. I agree fully with the views of those who would purge our school text books of their absurd and antiquated Anglophobia; but I think that those sponsors of this laudable endeavor who base their efforts on the ground that the colonists had little or no cause for resentment are as silly as the books they criticize.

There are still extant the official proclamations

which in close succession hemmed in more and more the Americans' freedom of action, such as *The Act for Restraining the Governor, Council and House of Representatives for New York*, London, 1767, which provided for the quartering of troops in New York and the provision of their supplies in a manner to be dictated in complete independence of the Legislative's wishes, and *An Act to Discontinue the Landing and Discharging of Goods*, etc. (London, 1774), better known as the *Boston Port Bill*, which closed the port of Boston, moving the Government to Salem and the port to Marblehead. This latter was quickly followed by three other acts designed to wipe out the last vestige of Massachusetts' self-rule, even denying her the right to try her own capital offenders. Had these acts been silently acquiesced to, the colonies would have sunk to the level of a semi-civilized African dependency. Critics of the revolutionists overlook the fact that even when specific Ministerial enactments can be explained or even justified, the Ministerial *attitude* was fundamentally intolerable.

This attitude was not universal, as we know. A powerful party in England, including many of the most prominent Whig leaders, sided with the Americans, even when in disagreement with them on matters of principle; it was one way of getting back at the Tories. Had the Whigs not been so torn by internal dissension as to be incapable of forming

a government, the course of affairs might have been very different. It is also quite clear that George III and his friends considered the thirteen colonies a small price to pay for keeping the Whigs out of power. English writers were as divided as their politicians, and if we have on one side Samuel Johnson's feeble *Taxation No Tyranny*, which the Doctor wrote as a good Tory without knowing the least bit about the mental capacities of the ungrateful colonials, we have on the other such comments as the *Monthly Review's* on Josiah Quincy's *Observations on the . . . Boston Port Bill*; wherein the editor says, "One peculiarly unlucky circumstance attending our American disputes may be added to the rest, viz., that our fellow-subjects there are as well read in the nature and grounds of civil and religious liberty as ourselves; as appears by many of their late publications, in which they oppose British pretensions on British principles; and this shrewd commentary on the Boston Port Bill will incline us to entertain a respectable opinion of their law pleaders." (I am indebted to the Church catalogue for this and other similar references.)

The *Boston Port Bill* act was, of course, Parliament's answer to the Boston Tea Party, and with the landing of General Gage to enforce the act, hostilities may be said to have actually begun. Meantime, however, I should like to revert for a moment to an event of four years before, which left both

AT THE TOWN-HOUSE in
BOSTON:

April 18th. 1689

SIR,

Our Selves as well as many others the Inhabitants of this Town and Places adjacent, being surpris'd with the Peoples sudden taking to Arms, in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, are driven by the present Engage and Necessity to acquaint your *Excellency*, that for the Saving and Security of the People Inhabiting this Countrey from the imminent Dangers they many times lie open and are exposed unto, and for your own Safety: We judge it necessary that you forthwith Surrender, and Deliver up the Government and Fortifications to be Preserved, to be Depos'd according to Order and Direction from the Crown of *England*, which is humbly expected may Arrive, promising all Security from violence to your Self, or any other of your Gentlemen and Souldiers in Person or Estate: or else we are assured they will endeavour the taking of the Fortifications by Storm, if any opposition be made.

To Sr. Edmond Andross Knight.

*William Stoughton.
 Thomas Danforth.*

*Simon Bradstreet
 John Richards.
 Elisha Cook.
 Isaac Addington,
 John Foster.
 Peter Sergeant.
 David Waterhouse.
 Adam Wintthrop.
 John Nelson.*

*Wait Wintthrop.
 Samuel Shrimpton.
 William Brown.
 Barthol. Gidney.*

Boston Printed by *Samuel Green*. 1689.

The proclamation against Andross—a forerunner of the Revolution (see page 165).

a marked impress on public opinion and a host of printed relics. This was the famous Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, which brought the British garrison into sanguinary conflict with the townspeople. The immediate causes were an illegal impressment by some British sailors and a riot which resulted in the death of a boy. The actual carnage of March 5th was not very great, but it caused the colonies to seethe with excitement. The leaders of the town quickly drew up their version of the affair, including several depositions, had it printed, and sent a number of copies on to England. The balance of this edition of *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston* was retained and *Additional Observations* were later added to it.

One result of the Massacre was a series of commemorative orations delivered each year on its anniversary until 1783, when with the recognition of Independence, the celebration was changed to July 4th. Among the orators were Joseph Warren, who fell on Bunker Hill, Benjamin Church, John Hancock and others of the foremost Bostonians. These orations were printed as soon as spoken and distributed as souvenirs. A complete collection of them is an attractive feature of several of the great American Libraries. There is some conflict about the first few orations, the Winsor and Church lists disagreeing, but the explanation may be that two orations were delivered at about the same time before

the custom had taken on the formal character of an established ceremony.

One other relic of the Massacre is worth recording for its high association value, Paul Revere's quaint colored engraving, which is reproduced in this volume. Its pecuniary value is higher, I fear, than its artistic merit. Revere, an engraver and silversmith by trade, was the author of several other coveted pieces of iconography, which can now compare with Whistler's and Rembrandt's in one respect. Even in his own day some of his work was by no means despised—specifically, while he was engaged by the Massachusetts legislature to engrave the Commonwealth's paper currency.

Meantime the assembly of the Continental Congress and the revolutionary tone it adopted precipitated a classic controversy in New York. The actions of Congress were sharply criticized in a series of pamphlets by a writer who called himself the Westchester Farmer, of whom Professor Tyler says "the literary merit of these essays are such as to entitle them to a high and permanent reputation in the literature of the American Revolution." The author is now generally considered to have been Samuel Seabury, the most formidable of the Royalist pamphleteers. He was suspected of their authorship by a group of lawless Whigs known as the "regulators" who carried him off to New Haven and kept him in confinement in the effort to make

him confess. While his identity was in doubt, however, his exasperated opponents had gathered up copies of his pamphlets and either burned them at the stake or covered them with tar and feathers at the whipping post.

The first Westchester Farmer pamphlet was called *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress*. It was promptly answered by another, *Full Vindication of the Measures of Congress*, whose anonymous author we now know to have been that extraordinary youth, Alexander Hamilton, then aged 17; the prodigy's arguments were so forceful that not only did Seabury refer to the *Full Vindication* in a postscript to the second Westchester Farmer pamphlet, *Congress Examined*, but others as well hastened to answer it.

The printer of these pamphlets was James Rivington, a bookseller who set up his first press at New York in April 1773, and began to publish a newspaper—*Rivington's New York Gazateer*. Although he printed for both sides impartially, the impatient Whigs rapidly became disgruntled with him and in November 1775 a party of Connecticut horsemen raided his premises, destroyed the press and carried him and his type off to New Haven. He returned to New York in 1777, while it was in British hands, and was soon made "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."

Among other tracts which Rivington printed be-

fore his abduction is an amusing conversation about the turmoil of the times, entitled *The Americans Aroused* by "Sir Roger de Coverley" which was reprinted under its sub-title, *A Cure for the Spleen*, in Boston the next year (1775) and Myles Cooper's *What Think Ye of the Congress Now?* a vigorous appeal to the people of New York to withdraw from the association of colonies on the ground that Congress was exceeding its powers; the latter contains the instructions given to Pennsylvania's delegates which were "to consult upon the present unhappy state of the colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purpose of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both." At the end of 1775 there is thus no hint of revolution in these explicit instructions.

Probably the popular feeling was as yet on the whole in accord with the official one, even though complete separation was being widely agitated by the more aggressive. The latter suddenly received a most powerful ally. Thomas Paine, a man born to assist in revolutions, had immigrated to Philadelphia in 1775 at the suggestion of Benjamin Franklin. Almost immediately he became immersed in

the political fray, and began, with the encouragement of Dr. Benjamin Rush, to write a book advocating immediate renunciation of British sovereignty. This book, *Common Sense*, appeared on January 8, 1776, and ran like wildfire through the colonies. Several editions appeared in Philadelphia alone, and no less than 100,000 copies were sold in a short time—a staggering figure. The sale in England was also large, although the London edition omitted Paine's strictures upon the King and his Cabinet.

The commencement of hostilities reduced the pamphleteers on this side to silence for the most part, since there was no longer anything to argue about; dissenting voices were hushed as is usual in a nation at war, although in England criticism of the government's policy went steadily on. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Worcester Cathedral, patiently wrote a series of tracts extending over a period of ten years, in which he endeavored to wean his countrymen away from the idea of a forceful reconquest of the colonies. In one of the last of these tracts, published in 1782 after the news of Cornwallis' surrender got abroad, he quite candidly hoped that that defeat would prove decisive. At the same time Edmund Burke was urging the colonies' cause on the floor of Parliament and elsewhere; in 1780 he published the first volume of his *History . . . of the*

War in America, probably the most able and just contemporary examination of the causes of the conflict.

The most valuable historically of all the publications, English or American, is *Almon's Remembrancer*. This is a series of seventeen octavo volumes, published at London between 1775 and 1784, first by John Almon, later by his successor Debrett. Almon's purpose was "to select from all the Public Prints the best account of every material Public Event." He included every authentic paper of the British Ministry of the American Congress, and though impartial in his selection of documents, he obviously disapproved of North's policies.

Official papers alone make up an appalling quantity of documents for study. The courts-martial of General Charles Lee and of Benedict Arnold were ordered printed in limited numbers by Congress. The proceedings of the Board of Officers in the trial of André for espionage was published in many places, the first edition with the imprint of Philadelphia, 1780, being a real prize. The Arnold-André conspiracy aroused, of course, a wide and, in the case of the latter, sympathetic interest, which manifested itself in elegiac poetry, monodies, plays, etc. A number of letters of Arnold written after his removal to England are still extant, in which the traitor asks a pension for his services to America! A broadside of September, 1780, also survives

in two or three copies with a wood engraving of Arnold carried through the streets of Philadelphia in effigy and about to be burned at the stake. There are several good bibliographies of Arnold and André, notably the one in the *Narrative and Critical History* after the chapter on *The Treason of Arnold*.

Like the reports of the courts-martial above referred to, the most desired versions of state papers of the period are those ordered struck off during or immediately after the deliberations of Congress on the subject to which they pertain. There exist such copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the altered charters of the various States (only Connecticut and Rhode Island kept their royal charters intact) and of *The Definite Treaty Between Great Britain and the United States of America*, the latter appearing in 1783, a year before the final ratification of the treaty. Its title-page makes one of the earliest uses of the eagle and the motto *E pluribus unum* as a national symbol. If one desires a guide through the jungle of revolutionary writings he can do no better than to select Professor Moses C. Tyler, whose *Literary History of the American Revolution* selects, describes and appraises with splendid critical judgment all of the important papers, public and private, which contribute to our knowledge of this epoch.

What Professor Tyler has done in a broad field

the late Paul Leicester Field has done in an equally distinguished manner in a narrower one. His *Bibliography and Reference List* of the History and Literature relating to the adoption of the constitution of the United States is as complete as such a work can be. Certain variations no doubt are missing, but these have an annoying way of turning up after a man has completed his work or even after his death, and cannot be held against him.

The "first edition" of the constitution is in the form of a report submitted to the members of the Convention on August 6, 1787, and the second in the form of an amended report, brought in on September 13th. Only sixty copies of each were ordered printed, and since they were for the confidential use of the members, very few copies were allowed to survive. An interesting change occurred between the two reports. The preamble of the first reads, "We, the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, etc. . . . do ordain, declare and establish this constitution for the United States of America . . ." whereas the second says, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect government . . .," the now (I trust) familiar form. The Constitution was then printed in official form for the Convention, followed by another official edition for Congress. A New York bookseller recently offered an interesting edi-

tion, unknown to Ford, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for Wednesday, September 19, 1787, two days after its passage by the Convention.

Hundreds of pamphlets and newspaper items were written for and against the adoption of the constitution; many of them were issued and circulated abroad, the French Revolution creating a great demand for this sort of political literature. None of them compare, of course, with the series of essays known under the collective title of the *Federalist*, the joint production of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison. They were not only the most effective argument for the adoption of the American constitution, but they at once took rank with the world's greatest political literature. Eighty-five of these essays appeared in three New York newspapers between October 27, 1787, and October 16, 1788, and were issued in two volumes during the latter year. The first volume of the Huntington copy contains Hamilton's designation in his own handwriting of the parts he had written himself and those contributed by his colleagues—critics have found no difficulty in separating them without this assistance, as Hamilton's stand out as models of the essay form.

The year 1800 is usually set down as the closing point of the great collections of Americana. This is of necessity so, for since Americana is literally all American books, the obstacle of space alone

would prove insuperable to further collection. The student or bibliophile who goes further tends to specialize in one subject—politics or 'political parties, territorial expansion, new international relations, the industrial revolution, inventions, slavery, the Civil War, etc. There are specialists in the history of each state, in the biography of Lincoln, Washington and other famous men, in the literature of Freemasonry or of Mormonism or of Christian Science. Each of these fields has its *recherché* editions, and I am told that Mrs. Eddy's *Science and Health* (Boston, 1875) is worth \$1,000; if so it is an exceptionally prosperous recruit to the ranks of rare books.

Most of this is, to me at least, prosaic, and I am glad to pause here before considering briefly two other aspects of Americana. However, I should like to recommend to the reader, quite informally, one book which records a nineteenth-century achievement worthy to be mentioned with those of three hundred years before. The book is the *History of the Expeditions Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke*, and is the story of the Lewis and Clarke exploration of the Northwest Territory based on their own journals. Lewis died before he could assist in the preparation of the narrative, and Clarke, urged by President Jefferson, selected Nicolas Biddle as editor of the book. Much of the credit for the work is due to the latter's

splendid editing of the explorer's journals. The first edition, in two volumes, came out in 1814, in an edition of 2,000, over a fourth of which were soon destroyed. A first edition is therefore comparatively quite expensive, but there are fortunately reprints available.

CHAPTER X

EARLY PRINTING



THE history of America is inextricably bound up with the history of its printing-presses. In many cases the first printer followed on the very heels of the first settlers, and the surviving products of his press supply information nowhere else available. Such early publications, considered as one group, surpass all other Americana in respect of rarity and value; the shabbiest specimen, if it be only an almanac, is swooped upon by the collector, who in this manner has done great service in partially dispelling the fog that surrounds the introduction of the art on this continent.

Until about fifty years ago the Spanish-Mexican dictionary of Alonso de Molina, Mexico City, 1571, was widely believed to be the first book printed in the New World, and 1569, the year of its license, approximately the birth-year of the earliest press.

After the middle of the last century various new discoveries moved the date forward at least twenty-five years. The John Carter Brown Library contains the *Doctrina Breve*, a religious manual "in plain language for the ordinary intelligence," pre-

pared by Juan de Zumaraga, first Bishop of Mexico City. The imprint states that it was "printed in Mexico by the direction and at the expense of Zumaraga in 1543, although the colophon gives the date of completion as June 14, 1544. The printing was done "at the house of Cromberger" although Cromberger himself was never in America. Two other books of 1544 are also in the same library, one of which, the *Doctrina Christiana*, another religious manual by the monk Pedro de Cordova, was long given first place in Mexican printing. The Brinley collection had still another of the same date whose present resting place I do not know.

It seems reasonably certain, however, that a press was in operation in Mexico City as early as 1539, at least. Dr. Garcia Icazbalceta, a learned Mexican authority, mentions in his *Bibliografia Mexicana del Siglo XVI* three early imprints of which there may still be copies in existence, although none were known to him in 1886, nor have any of them turned up since, I believe. These three are apparently a translation from Latin into Castilian of the *Spiritual Ladder* of St. John Climacus, a favorite school book of the day, which from strong circumstantial evidence Dr. Icazbalceta places in 1539; the *Manual of Adultos* of 1540, of which the last two leaves only survive; and an account of the terrible Guatemalan earthquake of 1541, printed at Mexico in the same year. Mr. George Parker Winship in his excellent

short pamphlet on *Early Mexican Printers* says there may be a copy of this last in Madrid. The complete disappearance of the other two may be accounted for by our knowledge of the usual fate of text-books. There are a number of first-class works on Mexican printing, besides those I have mentioned, notably Dr. José Torilio Medina's *Imprenta en Mexico* and the John Carter Brown Catalogue lists by far the best collection of Mexicana in existence. This library has a unique copy of the scarce 1555 *Dictionary* of Alonso de Molina, which is the foundation for modern knowledge of the aboriginal Mexican tongue, as well as the only copy of the earliest South American imprint, by Antonio Ricardo, who moved from Mexico City to Peru in 1579.

A study of early printing in Spanish America should suffice to refute the aspersions so often cast on the Catholic religion as a foe of education. The Jesuit missionaries in particular carried the Press with them wherever they went; deeply learned themselves, the spread of culture through the circulation of books remained always their intimate concern. It must be granted that no literature not sanctioned by the Church was embraced in their program; but it must likewise be granted that their vigorous dissemination of what the Church did approve was a keen instrument for dispelling at least primary ignorance among their charges.

An exception to the foregoing may be observed, however, in the case of the largest Spanish colony now included within the United States—California and the adjacent territory wrested from Mexico in 1848. The press did not make its appearance in California until 1833, sixty-four years after its permanent settlement. The explanation of this circumstance lies in the fact that, whereas education in other portions of New Spain was under the supervision of the energetic Jesuits, the schoolmasters of the northern province were the gentler Franciscan padres, who, though zealous in the service of the Gospel, never considered reading essential to its spread.

The first press in the English colonies was set up at Cambridge in 1638. In that year the Rev. Joseph Glover, a wealthy dissenting clergyman, who had for a long time been an ardent patron of the Massachusetts colony, embarked from Plymouth on his first voyage to its shores. With him were his family, Stephen Daye, who was to act as printer, and a printing press for which he had long solicited funds and toward which he had liberally contributed himself. *The Ancient Records of Harvard College* mentions that "Mr. Joss Glover gave to the college a font of printing letters, and some gentleman of Amsterdam gave towards the furnishing of a printing press forty-nine pounds, and something more." The statement of how the apparatus came

into the possession of the college is somewhat euphemistic, as the next paragraph shows.

Glover died before his ship reached port and was buried at sea. His widow settled in Cambridge and shortly afterwards married Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, in whose house the press was set up under Daye's direction. Glover's son John brought a suit against Dunster in 1656 for the recovery of his father's estate, among which he included the press, a stock of papers and some books. The jury found for the plaintiff, but Dunster was allowed to retain the management of the press in right of his wife.

Daye's first product was a broadside entitled *The Freeman's Oath*; his second *An Almanack for the Year 1639*; his third, and the first to come down to us, was *The Whole Book of Psalmes, Faithfully Translated Into English Metre*, familiarly known as the *Bay Psalm Book*.

The last-named is neither a masterpiece of literary translation nor of typography. As a matter of fact, it is as slovenly a sample of the printer's art as one would be likely to meet in a long day's travel. But of all books printed on the American continent, it is the most precious in the eyes of collectors—the peerless gem of American incunabula. “The acquisition of the *Bay Psalm Book*,” stated Dr. Trumbull, editor of the Brinley catalogue, “must always remain the crowning triumph to which every Amer-

THE
VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfullnes, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God.

Coll. iii.

Let the word of God dwell plenteously in you, in all wisdom, teaching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing to the Lord with grace in your hearts.

Iames v.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing psalmes.

Imprinted

1640

Title-page of the *Bay Psalm Book*.

ican collector aspires—it is by no means probable that another will be offered for another quarter century, at least.” This statement proved erroneous; fifteen years later another copy was sold, a badly deficient one; but in thirty odd years there has not been another.

Daye's original edition probably consisted of between 500 and 2000. But ten copies remain, of which only four are described as in good condition. No copy was known or recognized for many years until about sixty years ago, when Henry Stevens, the astute bookseller of Vermont and London, picked up the present Lenox copy for a few shillings at a London auction sale among a miscellaneous lot of early psalm-books. Mr. Evans, in his *American Bibliography*, asserts that there are five perfect copies, and that one is in the British Museum. Both statements are, I believe, erroneous. The Crowninshield copy, which was purchased by Henry Stevens, was offered to the Museum at £150 and declined because the price was too high. As a result, that great library still lacks this coveted rarity, and if the unlikely opportunity should ever arise to obtain a similar copy, would probably have to pay about \$25,000 for it. The less thrifty Brinley gladly paid 150 guineas for it; after his death it was auctioned off to Cornelius Vanderbilt for \$1200. Mr. Evans' error consists, apparently, in his failure to identify the Crowninshield with the Brinley copy. Mr.

Eames lists the extant copies correctly in his facsimile reprint of the book.

The aristocrat of all Bay Psalm Books is unquestionably the John Carter Brown copy, "a book with a history and *provenance* of distinction, ennobled by a long line of illustrious predecessors." (Roden.) Its first owner was Richard Mather, one of the translators, from whom it passed successively to Increase and Cotton Mather, then to the latter's son Samuel. It was then acquired by Prince, the celebrated New England collector, who at one time owned five copies, and by him was left to the Old South Church, of which he was for many years the pastor. Miraculously surviving the ravages of British invasion and worse, of the book-borrowers, it came, by a rather dubious process, into the hands of three enterprising "book-exchangers" along with two other copies; appropriated by one of the trio, Nathaniel Shurtleff, it passed on his death to a Providence bookseller, and after several private sales entered the John Carter Brown Library in 1881. There is still extant in the Boston Public Library the correspondence between the borrowers and the trustees, wherein a copy of Prince's *History* is accepted as consideration for a *Bay Psalm Book*!

The accommodation of the church was in nearly every case the cause of the establishment of the early presses, and Glover's avowed object in the case of the Cambridge Press, hence it is not sur-

prising that the great mass of Daye's work was of a religious character. The press was at times greatly overworked, there was often a scarcity of paper, and many important documents had to be sent to England for printing. Nevertheless a few state papers and the annual almanacs were given precedence over the increasing output of the clergy.

Not all of these documents have survived, even in one copy. Scholars have spent many years in an attempt to reconstruct them from external evidence. One of the great triumphs of the learned fraternity was its deductions as to the form and content of *The General Laws*, which was thought to have been printed in 1648. In the suit of Glover's heirs against Dunster there was mentioned in the inventory "The Law Book, 17 sheets, 600 copies, using 21 reams of paper, Sold at 17 Pence a book, 42 pounds, 10 shillings. The printing cost £15:16:3d., and the paper £5:5:0." From this bibliographers were able to ascertain the make-up of the book, and research among the records of the courts, quotations from contemporary authors, and comparison of the Laws of 1660 and 1672 enabled them to tabulate its contents. Then in 1906 this long-sought book turned up in a small private Library in England, and was obtained by Mr. E. Dwight Church. It proved the scholars correct in almost every detail. Even to attempt a valuation of this solitary gem would be absurd—its place in our

printing, its associations and the invaluable information it contains of early Puritan habits, customs and point of view make it a national monument.

The *Laws* were printed by Matthew Daye, who, succeeding his father in 1647, only survived him for two years, and was in turn succeeded by Samuel Green, the progenitor of a long line of printers. It would be tedious to list all of Green's titles; among the more important are the *Cambridge Platform* of 1649, his first job and the original edition of the fundamental declaration of faith and policy of New England Congregationalism, and John Cotton's *Milks for Babes* 1656, for long the daily spiritual nourishment for New England's infants—of the Cambridge edition only one copy survives, the Lenox, but there are two earlier and several later English editions. Several almanacs and religious pamphlets followed, until in 1661 Green reached the climax of his career in the *Indian Bible* of John Eliot.

Eliot's masterpiece is not so rare as any of the foregoing items, but I cannot conceive of the time when it will not rank among the most desirable treasures of native printing. It is the first edition of the Bible in any tongue in English America, the most elaborate venture thus far either of translation or of typography; in addition, although many copies exist, comparatively speaking, there is scarcely one

of them altogether devoid of its historic association.

The title-page of the *Indian Bible* states that it was "ordered to be printed by the Commissioners for the United Colonies in New-England, at the charge and with the consent of the Corporation in England for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians" and that the work was performed at Cambridge by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson in 1663, Johnson having been brought over from England in 1660 to assist in this work. Johnson subsequently rendered himself highly unpopular by engaging the affections of his partner's daughter, an act which the Puritan community to which he came found it hard to approve, in view of Johnson's possession of a wife in England.

The book was actually published in two parts. The New Testament was printed in 1661, and a number of copies were sent to England for presentation purposes, with English title-pages and a dedication to Charles II. Of the balance a small portion were bound separately, but the majority were included in the complete version of 1663. It is estimated that about a thousand of the latter were made up, twenty of which, in sheets, with an equal number of title-pages in English, were sent abroad for the same purpose as before.

The surviving copy of greatest interest was one presented to Mary Armyne, who contributed large

sums of money to Eliot's work. After her death it passed through the hands of several eminent Englishmen, including Philip Yorke, the revered Lord Chancellor, until in 1888 it was purchased at auction in London by Charles Kalbfleisch of Brooklyn, a noted American bibliophile, for £580. A few years later it came into the Marshall C. Lefferts collection by private sale, and in the same manner was acquired by E. D. Church in 1901, for about \$5000. I suspect that it began its last journey, a transcontinental one, in 1911, when Mr. Henry E. Huntington of California purchased the entire Church Library.

Several others of the presentation copies have shown a similar tendency to vagrancy, and the accounts of their wanderings are among the most romantic chapters of book-lore.

For a long time the press in this country was an object of suspicion; the fathers of Massachusetts kept a watchful eye on it, and were never disposed to give it wide latitude. For over eighty years after printing was first practised in the colonies manuscripts were sent to England for publication, owing chiefly to the ban on unorthodox religious polemics, although the pressure of work on the Cambridge shop and the usual poor quality of its performance led to the same procedure. In Virginia no printing was practised for many years for the reason succinctly stated in 1671 by its governor, Sir William

Berkeley: "I thank God that we have neither schools nor printing; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both." His prayer was not completely answered; there was a press in Virginia in 1681, but it was speedily put down and none reappeared for forty years or more.

The second colony in which printing was permanently established was Pennsylvania, where William Bradford, a Quaker, printed his first almanac, the *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, in 1685, four years after Penn was granted his charter. Shortly thereafter appeared Thomas Budd's *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania*, which was for long thought to have been printed in London; not until a careful comparison of types was made was it realized that the volume was Bradford's. The difference in value between English and American imprints of the time is considerable. As an instance I might mention that Philip Pain's *Daily Meditations*, probably the first book of verse published in the Colonies, was catalogued in the Christie-Miller sale of May 15, 1923, with the imprint of Cambridge, Marmaduke Johnson, 1668, and was allowed to go for £51 by the bookdealers present in the belief that the "Cambridge" signified the ancient English University town; the purchaser, Dr. Rosenbach, told me that he was prepared to offer one hundred times as much.

The oversight seems curious, as it is well known that Johnson, after assisting in printing the Eliot Bible, remained in Massachusetts doing odd jobs for Green or on his own. Though ordered fined and deported, he never went.

Bradford left Philadelphia because of conflict with the libel laws—many of the early printers sooner or later found themselves in this difficulty. In Bradford's case the trouble began with the advent of George Keith, whose religious views soon split the Quakers into two parties. Bradford sided with Keith and Budd, who unfortunately were in the minority, and was tried for setting up one of the Keithian tracts. The result was a disagreement, but the case was never retried as the jury in the first trial, in the effort to read the type forms backwards, upset them and spilled the type all over the floor. This being the principal evidence, the authorities, whose treatment of the printer was most harsh and unfair, were compelled to let him go.

Bradford next moved to New York and began printing there in 1693. There has been some confusion as to the order of his first publications, some calling *The Laws*, which is by far his most valuable work, the first book printed in New York, while others say that *Bayard's Journal* had that honor. As nearly as I can judge, the facts seem to be that Bradford was engaged in April of 1693 to print the legislative's enactments, and that he began doing

so at once, taking first the more recent and important ones, such as the revenue measures. In the meantime, while engaged in making up the entire book of the Colony's laws from manuscripts of the two previous years, he was diverted from time to time for other purposes, and during one of these diversions printed the small *Journal* which relates the 1692 campaign of Governor Fletcher to check Frontenac and his Indians at Schenectady. Nicolas Bayard, who took part in the expedition and wrote the journal, was later tried for piracy and high treason, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. This sentence was later reversed by the Crown. These proceedings are recounted in full in a Bradford pamphlet of 1702—*The Account of the Illegal Prosecution . . . of Coll. Nicholas Bayard*.

It is probable, therefore, that the *Bayard Journal*, or, as it is often called, "the lost Bradford Journal," was the first book printed in New York. Only one copy is known, that in the Public Record Office in London, from which the English edition of the same year may have been made; the latter too is a scarce item. The Church catalogue puts Keith's *Truth Advanced*, a lengthy volume, next, but I think on inconclusive grounds. At any rate, the whole book of *The Laws & Acts* came out early in 1694, and whatever precedence other Bradford imprints may have in time, this one is universally accepted as the most to be desired of all. It ranks in New York

as the *Bay Psalm Book* does in Massachusetts. Only two copies are "perfect as issued," the Lenox and Huntington—one similar to either would fetch as much as \$20,000, I suppose.

One of the laws printed by Bradford during 1693 was entitled an *Act for Restraining and Punishing Privateers and Pyrates*. He thus contributed to one of the less known yet most fascinating byways of Americana. All during the seventeenth century the shores were infested with pirates, and privateers who were no better than licensed pirates, but not until the end of the century were effective means taken to put a stop to the business. The notorious Quelch was captured and hanged in 1704 at Boston, and the even more celebrated Captain Kidd was hanged in London in 1701. There are several accounts of both trials. In Kidd's case it is amply clear that he was unfairly convicted, having been sent out under the authority of several official personages, including Lord Bellemont, the governor of New York himself.

The prototype of all the literature of bucaneeering is Alexander Olivier Esquemeling's *Americænshe Zee Roovers* of which the first part appeared at Amsterdam in 1678. It was translated into Spanish in 1681 and thence into English in 1684. It is known in English as the *Bucaniers of America* and is composed of four volumes, usually bound as two; first editions of Volumes I and II are exceedingly

scarce. The second edition, almost contemporary, is much less expensive and, though typographically inferior, makes good reading indeed.

The only other colony to have a press before 1700 was Maryland, where William Nuthead, who had been associated with John Buckner, the Virginia printer who had been forced out of business in 1683, set up his shop at St. Mary's. No Maryland imprint is extant of any year earlier than 1700; however, Mr. Lawrence Wroth in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* points out that the London edition of *The Protestant Declaration* of 1689, a manifesto issued by the Protestant leaders of that year's revolution against the proprietary government, bears a colophon beginning "Maryland, printed by William Nuthead at the City of St. Maries, Reprinted, etc." Although no copy of the American edition has as yet turned up, one probably will some day. As in the case of *Bayard's Journal*, the original was long known only by the reference to it in the English edition before the unique copy in London was identified. If Mr. Wroth's entire thesis is correct, as it may well be, Maryland's press is earlier than New York's or even Pennsylvania's.

The term incunabula as applied to American books is usually taken to signify an origin prior to 1700, when, as I have shown, presses were in operation only in four states. Strictly speaking, how-

ever, the term in its sense of "cradle-book" properly describes the early issues of any press, and there are few localities where printing has for long been practised that does not boast of its incunabula and collect them, even at high premiums. Specimens of such printing are often regarded as only less important than the few sovereign volumes of the Daye or Bradford workshops.

The early printers, as a class, took a leading part in the life of their communities and produced as many odd characters as at least any other profession—the biographies of printers given in Isaiah Thomas' *History of Printing in America* contains a gallery of most prepossessing portraits. Thomas himself was a printer, the first in Worcester, and one of the leaders of his profession during the Revolution. As a result of a conflict with Governor Hutchinson he was indicted on the same charge as Bradford and many other of his colleagues, but escaped.

Thomas' *History*, besides being a classic work on its subject, is filled from cover to cover with humorous incidents. There is, for example, the advertisement issued by Fleet, the Boston printer, in the *Evening Post* of August 23, 1742, "To be sold by the Printer of this paper, the very best negro-woman in this Town, who has had the smallpox and the measles; is as hearty as a Horse, as brisk as a Bird, and will work like a Beaver." In another part

Thomas quotes the epitaph written for John Foster, Boston's earliest printer, which is singularly apt:

The body, which no activeness did lack
Now's laid aside like an old Almanack;
But for the present's only out of date,
'Twill have at length a far more active state,
Yea, though with dust thy body soiled be,
Yet at the resurrection we shall see
A fair *Edition*, and of matchless worth,
Free from *Erratas*, new in Heaven set forth;
'Tis but a word from God, the Great Creator,
It shall be done when he saith "Imprimatur."

The epitaph is most effective in its original Old English type-face—I prefer it even to Franklin's, which I shall give on another page of the present chapter.

Even when the poor printers escaped actual imprisonment they often came into collision with important personages to their own distress. One amusing story of this sort occurred after Bradford's arrival in New York; previous to that time most of the latter's printing was done at Boston or Cambridge, and this incident resulted from a reciprocation of that favor. In 1700 some gentleman in Boston, being irritated at a recent tract of Increase Mather's, applied to Bartholomew Green of that city to print an answer thereto. Green declined the job on the ground that his would-be customers had refused to submit their pamphlet to the licensers of the press. The answer was thereupon published in

New York, with the following advertisement prefixed: "The Reader is desired to take notice, that the Press in Boston is so much under the *aw* of the Reverend Author whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following sheets, which is the only true reason we have sent the copy so far for its Impression."

Green, in the absence of a newspaper, replied with a handbill, indignantly denying that his refusal had been prompted by fear of the Mathers or any one else, and enlisted the aid of Cotton Mather, that past-master of scriptural invective, to conclude the handbill with a pointed denunciation of the pamphleteers. The latter, in no wise daunted by the formidable Cotton, gave vent, with the full force of their sturdy vocabularies, to their conviction, in a sworn affidavit, that both the printer and his sponsor were abandoned liars.

A war of depositions followed, which rapidly rose to a crescendo of patriarchal fury, testing every resource of type and of language. The vituperation is scarcely less picturesque than the capitals, italics and punctuation by which it is expressed. Green, worthy man, with a touching reference to his dependent family, finally fell back on the charitable judgment of the public, which was perhaps the wisest thing to do, as the other side was just beginning to appreciate its own rare ability in verbal pyro-

techny. I regret that I am unable to reprint in full all the papers in this first printer's war; they are given, however, in an appendix to the second edition of Thomas' *History*.

The greatest name in American printing annals is, of course, that of Benjamin Franklin. I had intended in this chapter to give a sketch of Franklin's career as a printer, based chiefly on his own words in his *Autobiography*. I found, however, that such a sketch had already been so well done that it did not require re-doing; Dr. William J. Campbell in his preface to the *Catalogue of Franklin Imprints in the Museum of the Curtis Publishing Company* has treated the subject in the particular way that I had in mind, namely, on the underlying truth that Franklin was before everything else a practising printer. Bred to the trade as apprentice to his brother, from his thirteenth year on, he rarely lost touch with types. He practised the art first at Boston, his birthplace, went to New York after a quarrel with his brother, and was sent by Bradford, who had no vacancy, to his son Andrew in Philadelphia. His arrival in the latter city, carrying two rolls of bread under his arm and incurring the laughter of his future wife, is a favorite and authentic story. Andrew Bradford had just lost his assistant, Aquila Rose, but the post was already filled, so he sent the young applicant along to his friendly rival, Samuel Keimer. Franklin found the

latter occupied in composing an elegy on Rose. "Keimer made verses . . . but very indifferently" says Franklin. "He could not be said to write them, for his manner was to compose them in types directly out of his head, so there being no copy but one pair of cases, and the Elegy likely to require all the letters, no one could help him." Franklin did the press work on the *Elegy*, which is the first work that can be definitely attributed to him.

While yet a boy of eighteen Franklin made his first voyage to London, a voyage undertaken by a capricious interest on the part of Governor Keith, who had promised to set him up in business and had sent him to London to buy the needed equipment, but at the last moment left him in the lurch. The enterprising youth soon found himself a job at a large printing house, however, and devoted himself assiduously to learning, even studying the art, almost unknown in America, of typefounding. While engaged in setting up the third edition of Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*, he was struck by certain fallacies, as they seemed to him, and composed his *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, in reply to it. He struck off one hundred copies, but later became dissatisfied with his little metaphysical piece and burned all that he could lay his hands on. The *Dissertation* is now the rarest piece of Frankliniana, excepting only the

M. T. CICERO's
CATO MAJOR,
OR HIS
DISCOURSE
OF
OLD-AGE:

With Explanatory NOTES.



PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN,
MDCCXLIV.

Title-page of Franklin's *Cato Major*, his typographical masterpiece.

first two or three numbers of *Poor Richard's Almanac*; the Huth copy brought £1005 in 1913.

Franklin had already published an almanac in 1730, which he lost after two years to Andrew Bradford, and in 1732 decided on the publication of another, which he called *Poor Richard* after a popular series of *Poor Robin* Almanacs which had been running continuously in England since 1664; his brother James had also begun a *Poor Robin* series in Rhode Island four years before. The *Poor Richard* series was an immediate success, the annual sales soon reaching over ten thousand. They contain some of his most delightful and popular work as a writer, and are among the few almanacs ever sold on their literary merit; I have never seen an earlier one than the fourth; the first, for 1733, is represented by the unique specimen belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Among Franklin's other achievements as a printer is his edition of Cicero's *Cato Major, or His Discourse of Old Age*, which was published at Philadelphia in 1744. It is Franklin's finest typographical product, and probably the loveliest of the eighteenth century in America. The reproduction here given does not do justice to the red-and-black title-page. It is printed "in a large and fair Character, that those who begin on the Subject of *Old Age* (which seldom happens till their sight is somewhat

impaired by its Approaches) may not, in Reading, by the Pain the Letters shall give the Eyes, feel the Pleasure of the Mind in the least allayed." Franklin in the introduction "The Printer to the Reader" calls his book the first translation of a classic in the Western World, but he was wrong, for Sandys' translation of Ovid, made on the banks of the James River, had been published nearly a century before, and others preceded his as well.

Throughout his long and brilliant career Franklin never lost his fondness for typography. During the anxious days of his ambassadorship to France he established in his residence at Passy a little private press, which was operated by himself and his servants—the latter even cast the type. The products of this ambassadorial press are now very rare; among them were a collection of essays by himself which he called *Bagatelles*, which are now very rare; most of them are owned by Mr. W. S. Mason, whose Franklin collection rivals that of the Curtis Publishing Company. The *Bagatelles* were reproduced in *Franklin and His Press at Passy*, by Luther Livingstone, published by the Grolier Club in 1914. There was also a one-page broadside called the *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle*, which contained British advertisements for scalps, and an account of bundles of scalps of Americans consigned by Indians in the British pay to agents in London. The broadside was, of course, a piece of

wartime propaganda meant to be circulated in England—it was made up in closest imitation of a Boston newspaper. A second and larger edition was later issued with a fictitious letter from John Paul Jones added. Franklin sent a copy of the paper to John Adams with the comment, “I send enclosed paper, the veracity of which I have some doubt, but none as to the substance, for I believe the number of people actually scalp’d in this murdering war by the Indians to exceed what is mentioned in the invoice. . . . If it were republished in England it might make them a little ashamed of themselves.” It never was, however.

Three documents attest that to the end of his life he remained at heart a member of the Gutenberg brotherhood. After introducing his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, to the profession in Passy he wrote, on March 2, 1789, to a friend, “I am too old to follow printing again myself, but loving the business, I have brought up my grandson, Benjamin, to it and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye.” His will, dated July 17, 1788, “I, Benjamin Franklin, *Printer*, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, etc., etc., do make and declare. . . .”

He died April 17, 1790, and there is preserved a quaint epitaph, composed by himself which reveals

that his images of death and resurrection themselves were fashioned by his love of printed books:

The Body of B. Franklin, Printer, (Like the Cover of an old Book, Its contents torn out And stript of its Lettering and Gilding) lies here, Food for worms. But the work shall not be lost; For it will, (as he believ'd) appear once more in a new and more elegant Edition, Revised and corrected By the Author.

One after another various printers, Bradford, Buckner, James Franklin, Thomas, fell under the displeasure of the authorities, and were subjected to persecutions of various sorts. The principal weapon of the State was, of course, the law of libel, which as then interpreted rendered the right of free speech a precarious matter. Finally in 1734 the issue was thrashed out in New York in one of the most celebrated trials ever held on American soil, with a little German printer, John Peter Zenger, as the defendant.

The background of this *cause célèbre* may be indicated briefly. Governor Cosby, one of the worst viceroys who ever represented the English Crown, arrived in New York in 1732 to take up his duties, after having previously been removed from a minor post for oppressive and dishonest misrule. He immediately became involved in litigation with Rip Van Dam, a sterling Knickerbocker who had acted as governor pro tem in the interim before Cosby's arrival; the latter claimed from Van Dam the sal-

ary and perquisites which the other had collected while in office. The claim was outrageous, and Cosby knew it. He also knew that he dared not risk a suit at Common Law, as his opponent would then have been able to claim a set-off of £3000 which Cosby actually owed him for collections in the meantime. The two alternatives were a suit in chancery or in equity. The former not being available to the governor, since he himself was chancellor, he high-handedly and without any legal sanction appointed the Judges of the Supreme Court to be Barons of the Exchequer for the purpose of trying his suit in equity. Lewis Morris, the Chief Justice, delivered an admirable opinion in which he denied the right of the Court to try a suit in equity and declined to sit in the case. Cosby summarily removed him, although he had been an excellent judge during eighteen years of service. He then tried to imprison Van Dam by means of a commission of rebellion, employing therefore a forged signature on the summons.

Cosby's conduct became so insupportable, both personally and in his financial dealings, that the popular party looked around for an organ of opposition opinion. The only journal then in existence was Bradford's *Weekly Gazette*, and although the former Philadelphia rebel secretly sided with the malcontents, he was now possessed of the contract for the public printing and dared not expose his sen-

timents. He did, however, enable John Peter Zenger, a recent immigrant to New York, to start the *New York Weekly Journal* on November 5, 1733. Back of Zenger were Morris, James Alexander and William Smith, Van Dam's lawyers and leaders of the New York bar, and Cadwallader Colden; these leaders of the popular party were the principal contributors to the columns of the paper. Zenger himself was an uneducated man who had previously been unsuccessful at his trade. His paper was actually better printed than the Gazette, but his own contributions were full of errors due to his defective English.

The *Journal* began at once to attack Cosby and his satellites with vigor. So quickly did it get under the governor's skin that his creature De Lancey, who had succeeded Morris as Chief Justice, ordered the Grand Jury in January, 1734, to find a true bill against Zenger, but the undaunted jurors refused. Cosby had singular ill-luck throughout with his juries.

The popular party forged ahead and grew bolder. Having won a hard fought legislative election against all the opposing efforts of the royalist group, the victors opened up on the Court and more particular the Governor, circulating widely two sarcastic ballads about him and his activities. The Supreme Court ordered them burnt, and asked the concurrence of the Popular Assembly in burning cer-

tain issues of the *Journal*, in offering a reward for the discovery of the writers of the seditious articles, and in prosecuting the printer. The Assembly tabled the resolutions, and Cosby tried to get the papers burnt by an Order in Council to the Court of Quarter Sessions, but this Court, unawed, refused to enter the order in its records. The governor then offered a reward of fifty pounds for the discovery of the authors of the articles and twenty for the authors of the ballads, but no one claimed the money. Finally he had the poor satisfaction of having the offending numbers of the *Journal* burnt by the Sheriff's negro servant, the Court of Quarter Sessions refusing even to allow its own whipper to do the job.

Failing in every other method, Cosby had Zenger arrested by means of warrant of the Council, an utterly unprecedented act, since the Council, being with the governor an appellate court, had no right to issue a warrant, one based, moreover, not on evidence but on opinion. The printer's bail was put so high he was unable to raise it, and his paper missed a number. Even so the governor struck a snag when the Grand Jury failed to find a True Bill; he then had recourse to an antiquated instrument of the Court of Star Chamber, the charging on Information by the Attorney General. The charge was that certain parts of numbers 13-23 were *false, scandalous, malicious and seditious*.

The popular party retained Alexander and Smith, the best lawyers available, to defend Zenger. Their first step, a quite ordinary one, was to question the competency of the Court to try the case. The Court's ruling, delivered the following day, was to disbar both advocates from practising before the Supreme Court. This is the only instance in English legal history where such a ruling has been made for such a cause. The Court appointed a young lawyer named Chambers to represent the defendant.

Up to this point Cosby had everything his own way. Van Dam had been silenced, Morris removed, Alexander and Smith debarred, Zenger imprisoned. The paper carried on, however, and the Court Party was frustrated in an attempt to pack the jury panel.

The turning point came with the trial, which opened on August 4, 1735. Even at its opening it was realized that it was likely to prove momentous, a decisive test as between the governor and the people. It was held in the City Hall, then the finest building in the city, situated at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets.

The audience received one thrill at the very beginning. The popular party, grown very wary, had gone outside the city to find a lawyer for the trial, not wholly relying on young Chambers. Their selection, which they kept quite dark to the very day,

of the action, was Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the greatest barrister of his time. Although now eighty years old, his mental faculties were unimpaired, and he had prepared for this case with keenest relish.

The prosecution laid down a simple statement of its case, to the effect that the jury was limited to finding whether or not Zenger had done the printing alleged. The truth or falsity of the assertions contained had no bearing—truth was, in fact, merely aggravation of the libel. To this view the Court assented, barring the defense from calling witnesses as to the truth of the statements. Since Zenger had already admitted the printing, his indubious fate lay in the hands of the court if the jury found him guilty of the libel to which, in the court's sense, he had already pleaded guilty.

The issue rested on Hamilton, and he responded with one of the greatest and most daring speeches ever heard in a court of law. (The full report will be found in Mr. Livingstone Rutherford's account of the *Trial of John Peter Zenger*, to which I am indebted for the substance of these paragraphs.) Opening with a fiery attack on the colonial governor system, he defended the right of the people to protest against it as sacred. He tore to bits the prosecution's doctrine of "Libel by Innuendo" with Biblical irony and at one point reached a peroration

superior, I think, to Patrick Henry's oft-quoted one, "The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than Death."

The nub of his oration was an appeal to the jury to constitute themselves judges both of the Law and of the facts, "to declare that Truth is no libel, and that in this case Truth has been proved even more strongly by the suppression of witnesses than if they had been allowed to testify." He here laid down a doctrine which has ever since been a principal of American jurisprudence, forty-six years before Fox's Libel Bill passed the House of Commons.

Hamilton was irresistible; his logic and eloquence were both nearly flawless, and the Court's reiteration in its charge that it alone could judge the libel was unavailing. Zenger was acquitted without hesitation, and the first great step in rebellion taken. As Gouverneur Morris says, "The trial of Zenger in 1735 was the germ of American freedom, the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."

CHAPTER XI

AMERICAN LITERATURE



THE division in American literature between pre-Irving and post-Irving seems more definitely established than is that in England between pre- and post-Shakespearian. Americans generally, and a great many Englishmen I suppose, are as familiar with the names of Hawthorne, Melville, Poe, Bryant, Whitman, etc., as they are with those of Pope, Fielding, Wordsworth and Keats. But for every thousand readers of Chaucer, Marlowe or Spenser I doubt if there is one of Sewall, Freneau, Barlow or Dunlop. I hasten to add that no comparisons are here intended—as far as I am aware cis-Atlantic letters possess no concealed *Canterbury Tales* or neglected *Faërie Queene*. I merely note this phenomenon as curious in a country whose own literary annals are so short that one would think they might be taught from the beginning.

Most of the seventeenth-century literature is polemic or satirical in intent, slight in merit, and almost unobtainable in first editions. I had had in mind quoting from such things as Michael Wig-

glesworth's *Day of Doom*, which ran through edition after edition both here and abroad during sixty years, Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America*, also a best-seller in its day, and similar pieces. But I found that when removed from their quaint typographical settings such verses lost almost all of their original flavor, and were hardly worth the effort of reading, save to the most specialized student of the period. Nor is one likely ever to see a first edition of most of these early bits—many of them are preserved in only one copy, a few are known only by later reprints. As a rule the American editions are scarcer than the corresponding English ones.

The most amusing of this early verse is generally of an elegiac character—Benjamin Tompson, the earliest American poet of whom we have definite knowledge (his predecessors above mentioned being immigrants), was a specialist in this form, and the earliest poem printed, written and published in this country, if we except Philip Pain's religious verses, the unique copy of which I mentioned in a previous chapter, was probably Urian Oakes' *An Elegie Upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard*, printed by Samuel Green in 1677. Oakes' was in turn commemorated by the master elegiast Cotton Mather, who made an official lament on his death in 1682. Cotton's sorrow was tempered, however, by the fact that his subject's decease opened

THE TENTH MUSE

Lately sprung up in AMERICA.

OR

Severall Poems, compiled
with great variety of VVit
and Learning, full of delight.

Wherein especially is contained a com-
pleat discourse and description of

The Four { Elements,
Constitutions,
Ages of Man,
Seasons of the Year.

Together with an Exac^t Epitomie of
the Four Monarchies, viz.

The { Assyrian,
Persian,
Grecian,
Roman.

Also a Dialogue between Old England and
New, concerning the late troubles.

With divers other pleatant and serious Poems.

By a Gentlewoman in those parts.

Printed at London for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the
Bible in Popes Head-Alley. 1650.

Title-page of Anne Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse*.

the way for the poet's father's accession to the presidency of Harvard College.

As the religious piece was distinctive of the seventeenth century, the historical was characteristic of the eighteenth. The greatest names of this latter period are those of Philip Freneau, Joel Barlow, Francis Hopkinson and John Trumbull; the first two are considerably superior to the others as poets, and Freneau especially tops all of the bards of the Revolution. His later works are not scarce, but of his earlier some have disappeared altogether, and the first one, *The American Village* (New York, 1772) is represented by the lone Library of Congress copy, I believe. His *Voyage to Boston* (New York, 1775), a long poem in the manner of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, is one of the important documents of the early days of the rebellion and still worth a reading.

Barlow's titles are many, but *The Columbiad*, a late piece (1807), is the best known. The volume is a sterling specimen of book-making, well printed and finely illustrated. Robert Fulton, the inventor of the steamboat, paid for its publication, and it is dedicated to him. Trumbull is remembered principally by *McFingal: A Modern Epic Poem*, of which the first canto was issued alone at Philadelphia in 1775. It was very popular, as the numerous reprints show.

The early native drama shows the same peculiari-

ties as the poetry, namely, that it was topical in character and quite often the work of men more distinguished in public than in literary life. The first play ever written in America was of this kind, *Androboros*, which the dramatist, Governor Hunter of New York, calls A Biographical Farce, in Three Acts, viz.: The Senate, the Consistory and the Apotheosis. The theme is a stringent criticism of the clergy and members of Trinity Church. Hunter was assisted, it is said, by Chief Justice Lewis Morris.

Only one printed copy survives of this play, the Duke of Devonshire's. The imprint is Monopolis, 1714—in the Devonshire copy the place is corrected in a contemporary hand to "Moropolis" (City of Fools) and John Philip Kemble, the famous actor, who formerly owned this copy, thought that the correction was Hunter's own, which seems very likely.

The first American play to be acted on a professional stage by a professional company is usually thought to be *The Contrast*, by Royall Tyler, Chief Justice of Vermont. Tyler was a man of cultivated taste and possessed a real flair for the theater. *The Contrast*, which was acted in 1787 and printed in 1790, was the earliest occasion of the employment of Yankee dialect and anecdote on the stage.

To those interested in pursuing this subject further I might add that Mr. Oscar Wegelin of New

York has published two little bibliographies, *Early American Poetry* (New York, 1903) and *Early American Plays* (New York, 1905), which contains the completest catalogue of either that I know of.

Though now almost unknown to general readers American novels of the pre-Irving period are steadily sought by the collector. The works of the first professional novel-writer, Charles Brockden Brown, who in his day was popular on both sides of the Atlantic, now bring higher prices than all but the rarest of Hawthorne's. What is usually described as the first effort in this form is the *Pretty Story*, by the poet Hopkinson, issued at Philadelphia in 1774. I have never seen a copy of it, but I have managed to wade through part of Sarah Morton's *The Power of Sympathy*, a two-volume affair (Boston, 1789) which for long was awarded first place. Mrs. Morton was also the author of a short tale of Indian life, *Ouabi, Or the Virtues of Nature*, which is one of the earliest treatments in fiction of the red man's habits and customs.

The collection of American authors of the nineteenth century has undergone a change in the past few decades as sweeping as the synchronous revival of literary ratings. Venerated writers have lost their prestige and stable books their value; and although the critics' point of view is but slenderly linked with that of the collector, the same authors who have fallen in the eyes of the one have,

in general, lost caste with the other. Longfellow's first editions, once the necessary foundation of any collection, are easy to obtain, with few exceptions, at a few dollars apiece, while Whitman items, once worth almost nothing, soar to the skies. Incidentally a great deal of study has recently been given to Whitman bibliography, which is likely to result in a fuller knowledge of his queer character. I am told that it is now accepted that both the *Notes on Walt Whitman*, which John Burroughs was supposed to have written in 1867, and the 1860 volume of laudatory reviews of *Leaves of Grass* were both the work of the poet himself.

I have endeavored in the following paragraphs to describe that work of each of several popular American writers which is most valued by collectors. Not all of them are exceptionally scarce or expensive, and in no case are they the author's best work. Their interest, except to the bibliophile, is usually those circumstances surrounding their production which have given them a unique bibliographical position.

Salmagundi, or the Whim-whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq., and Others, was written by Irving in conjunction with J. H. Paulding; it is composed of twenty numbers, as was the custom of the time, issued from January, 1807, to January, 1808. Until a few years ago no copy of the authentic first edition was known. All

copies of the first nine numbers previously unearthed bore on their title-pages "third," "fourth," or "fifth" edition, which was an ancient artifice of publishers for "puffing" a book by giving the public an impression of rapid re-issue. For a long time these legends on *Salmagundi* were believed to have been placed there for the dissemination of this pleasant fiction; such copies were accepted as first editions and so offered in the sales catalogues. However, in 1917, a New York bookseller turned up in a New Jersey library a copy in which none of the parts bore such legends, and all of which were evidently first editions. The book with the numbers complete would now realize about \$750, somewhat more than before the error was disclosed.

Bryant's *The Embargo, or Sketches of the Times, a Satire by a Youth of Thirteen*, is one of the most infrequent of American first editions to come up for sale. It is the earliest product of its author's precocious talent, preceding even *Thanatopsis*, which is said to have been composed in the same year; the latter, moreover, was not published until 1817, when it appeared in the *North American Review*. The reason for the title of the sketches, which were published in 1808, is obvious to any one familiar with the close of Jefferson's administration. Their timeliness, however, was probably a minor consideration to the friendly purchasers who made their publication possible; the book, like many

another first literary venture of the day, was subscribed for in advance. The Wallace copy brought \$1,520 in 1920.

No history of Thoreau's first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (Boston, 1849), can possibly be more delightful than the philosopher's own. The following is taken from an entry in his journal for October 28, 1853: "For a year or two past, my *publisher*, falsely so called, has been writing from time to time to ask what disposition should be made of the copies of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* still on hand, and at last suggested that he had use for the room they occupied in his cellar. So I had them all sent to me here and they arrived to-day by express, filling the man's wagon—706 copies out of an edition of 1,000, which I bought of Munroe four years ago and have ever since been paying for, and have not quite paid for yet. The wares are sent to me at last, and I have an opportunity to examine my purchase. They are something more substantial than fame, as my back knows, which has borne them up two flights of stairs to a place similar to that to which they trace their origin. Of the remaining 290 odd, 75 were given away, the rest sold. I have now a library of nearly 900 volumes, over 700 of which I wrote myself. Is it not well that the author should behold the fruits of his labor? My works are piled up on one side of my chamber, half as high

as my head, my opera omnia. This is authorship; these are the work of my brain. There was just one piece of good luck in the venture. The unbound were tied up by the printer four years ago in stout wrappers, and inscribed:

H. D. Thoreau's,
Concord River,
50 cops.

So Munroe had only to cross out 'River' and write 'Mass' and deliver to the expressman at once. I can see now what I write for, the result of my labors.

"Nevertheless, in spite of the result, sitting beside the inert mass of my works, I take up my pen to-night to record what thought or experience I may have had, with as much satisfaction as ever. Indeed, I believe that this result is more inspiring and better for me than if a thousand had bought my wares. It affects my privacy less and leaves me freer."

The difficulty in tracing a copy of Hawthorne's *Franshaw: A Tale* may properly be laid at the door of the author himself. Written while he was a student at Bowdoin College, he paid \$100 for its anonymous publication in 1828 (publishers seem to have been very wary of spending money on youthful manuscripts in those days!). Hawthorne never acknowledged this work; he subsequently destroyed

the unsold portion of the edition, and all of the few outstanding copies which he could lay his hands on. It is now the only writing of its author, and one of the very few pieces of American fiction that belong in the thousand-dollar class. Next to it in rarity is his *Peter Parley's Universal History*, Boston, 1837.

Apropos of Hawthorne, it is noteworthy that the best early American novels, such as Cooper's and Hawthorne's, though frequently of great rarity, seldom command the interest or the prices of the corresponding English fiction of the last century. *The Scarlet Letter*, although less common than *A Tale of Two Cities*, is but a tenth as attractive to the buyer; yet I daresay that the former is the more enduring and better work of art of the two—which has, of course, nothing to do with the case.

This list might be extended by the addition of such books as Lowell's *Commemoration Ode*; Whittier's *Moll Pitcher*; the *Outre-Mer* of Longfellow (who appears, by the way, to be enjoying a revival), and perhaps many others; there is scarcely an American author of prominence who has not at least one work which will always arouse the efforts of the restless seeker. But the entire subject of American first editions is epitomized in Edgar Allan Poe, who, in collectors' eyes, overshadows all the rest.

Poe's standing among bibliophiles has been in

pronounced contrast with the tardy appreciation of his genius. For generations his first editions have been gathered with intense eagerness; their prices have soared to figures which are phenomenal for books less than a century old, and incomparably in excess of any other writer in English of the 19th century.

All this energetic collection has been conducted in the face of the manifest impossibility of possessing Poe first editions in any state of completeness. His entire literary output, excepting magazine articles, consists of but eleven books, some of which are re-issues. All of them were of small size and number, save *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, of which an edition of 750 was published in 1840; even this pair of volumes, which only twenty years ago could be had for \$25, are now sold for nearly twenty times as much. Three of the eleven are so scarce that a collector may far sooner hope to procure a perfect *Pickwick* in parts than to own any of them. The virtual disappearance of *Tamerlane* and *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* is an anomaly of modern bibliography.

The history of *Tamerlane* is unique among American books. Until the early eighties it remained totally unrecognized because of its anonymity. Even Duyckink's *Classic Cyclopedia of American Literature*, which was completed in 1866, makes no mention of it. Within a few decades of its publi-

cation a work of a famous American poet had apparently passed out of existence.

The first known copy came to light in London some time shortly before 1884. At that time the British Museum had a contract with Henry Stevens & Son whereby the booksellers were to supply it with all American pamphlets, which it did not possess, at a shilling apiece. Among a bundle so delivered was *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, by a Bostonian, which the Museum's librarian promptly recognized; what the ignorance of Stevens' clerk cost his firm will appear shortly.

Of the remaining three copies extant, two were formerly in the possession of Mr. Frederick Halsey, the well-known New York collector; one of them he bought at the Ives auction in 1893 for \$1,850; the other, known as the McKee copy, he acquired in 1900 for \$2,250. Mr. Halsey sold both copies to Henry E. Huntington, who kept one and later resold the other to Mr. Halsey. At the sale of the remainder of the latter's library in 1919 it was acquired by the late George D. Smith for \$11,600—the highest price ever paid for a book by an American author. I believe that Mr. Frank B. Bemis now owns this copy and Mr. William A. Clark, Jr., recently bought the fourth one privately. The Huntington and Bemis copies alone possess the original paper covers, which are not stitched to the book.

The usual explanation for the non-survival of the much-sought books which were originally purchased in cheap and perishable form is that their first owners set little value upon them, and after one reading tossed them to destruction. Frequently this explanation suffices; many a piece of immortal literature was sold for old paper and, conversely, an old book may be regarded with suspicion if it be large and attractively gotten up, as in most cases its very elaborateness, requiring a large circulation or a high selling price, insured its wide preservation. But although *Tamerlane* and *Murders in the Rue Morgue* were small, inexpensive volumes, their comparative youth would seem to necessitate some further explanation of their virtual disappearance—whole editions of prized books do not ordinarily vanish in less than a century.

Tamerlane was published in 1827 at Boston, where Poe had gone to join the army. Just before his enlistment he had become friendly with a youth about his own age, Calvin F. S. Thomas, the proprietor of a newly opened printing shop. The first creation of the young poet was the first and only venture of the young printer in the book trade. The result was a sad failure for both; the verses fell into speedy oblivion, the friendship terminated abruptly, and Thomas moved West; he never thereafter referred to his association with *Tamerlane* or its author.

On what terms Thomas undertook the publication is entirely unknown; but from our knowledge of the common practices of the time, and particularly in view of Poe's character, it is possible to deduce the following theory:

Thomas undertook the work on Poe's representation that he would bear the cost, the latter either openly or secretly indulging in hopes of his foster father's support. Poe was long addicted to this form of optimism, which more often than not proved baseless. It is probable that Thomas, before binding the printed sheets and turning them over to their purchaser, demanded his money, and when it was not forthcoming either sold the sheets as old paper or employed them in other manner. Our theory then leads to the conclusion that the publication of *Tamerlane* was never completed, and that the four extant copies which have come down to us are among the few which were sent to the reviewers or which Poe was able to extract from Thomas to employ in soliciting sales.

Poe subsequently reprinted the bulk of his first verses at Baltimore in 1829 under the title of *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems*. It is known that when the latter volume appeared the author had but one copy of the former, then out but two years. *Al Aaraaf* is also one of the rarest of American books, only about seven copies having been accounted for. One of these is an interesting



Illustration by Manet for Poe's *The Raven*.

association item, having been presented by the poet's sister Rose to a friend. It was bought at the French sale in 1901 by J. C. Chamberlain for \$1,300 and passed, along with many other rarities from the latter's superb collection, into the possession of W. T. Wallace. It realized \$1,800 at the Wallace sale. I should add that the sale of association copies rarely give a fair indication of the value of ordinary copies. For this reason the wonderful Wakeman collection, recently sold, has set up false ideas of value, for Mr. Wakeman's specimens were unusual both for their association and, generally, their condition.

The Murders in the Rue Morgue, scarcer even than *Tamerlane*, was published sixteen years after it, rendering the conventional explanation of its disappearance (its cheap form) even more difficult of belief than in the case of the earlier book; in addition, Poe's fame had spread far by 1843. There is strong evidence that the issue of the later work was similarly left incomplete, and that the copies we know were never put into commercial circulation.

The Prose Romances of Edgar A. Poe. No. I Containing The Murders in the Rue Morgue and The Man that was used up, was intended as a reprint of one of Poe's most popular tales, which had appeared in Graham's magazine while it was under his editorship. The No. 1., indicates that

more of the tales were to follow serially, and the price, 12½c. (the old American shilling), that a wide circulation was planned.

The book itself was cheaply made up, with the title printed on the brown paper wrapper; in every authentic copy the first page, on which the story begins, is number 9.

The last circumstance seems to solve the mystery of *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. It is altogether probable that the first eight pages of the thin octavo were intended to contain the customary advertising matter; the dummies were printed and supplied to the solicitors whose task it was to fill those first four leaves with the desired advertising. Apparently they failed, and the publishers, seeing no profit in the bare sale of the text, decided to discontinue the entire project. It is certain that no more of the booklets followed No. 1; it seems almost as certain that the latter itself was carried no further than the printing of a score or so of the dummy copies; had the entire enterprise been consummated according to the original intention of the publisher, it can be stated with confidence that more than three copies would have survived.

The Murders in the Rue Morgue did not turn up at auction until 1901, when the F. W. French copy went for \$1,000; it would probably bring six times as much to-day. Its sales have been few and far between. C. B. Foote, an enthusiastic and

highly successful collector, sent out ten thousand inquiries in the effort to obtain it, without success.

The manuscript of *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* remained in Philadelphia and was acquired by George W. Childs, the journalist, who presented it to the Drexel Institute Library. It is a comparatively short script, but I know of no other single American autograph that can compare with it in value. Poe's manuscripts have largely disappeared, and most of those turning up assume the form of literary criticism. The zest with which collectors gobble up even these minor relics causes them to assume four-figure proportions in the booksellers' catalogues.

Yet, despite their remarkable preëminence among collectors, Poe's works waited sixty years for a respectable collected edition; not until the very end of the past century, when E. C. Stedman and Professor George E. Woodberry undertook the task, was there a satisfactory collection of them. Many minor writers attained to the dignity of sumptuous and even scholarly editions during the long time that America's greatest poetical genius awaited even decent presentation. Which, I wonder, would have pleased his queer soul more—the wide circulation in fine editions of the fruits of his life's labors, or the payment of sums beyond his conception for the crude volume of his immaturity.

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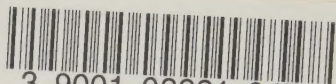
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